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24 September 1982

# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 340

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## PARTY AND STATE

### CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION GIVES ATTENTION TO HEAD OF STATE QUESTION

Beijing FAXUE YANJIU [LEGAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 3, 1982 pp 15-20

[Article by Xu Chongde [6079 1504 1795]: "On the Question of the Head of State"]

[Text] The question of the head of state is an important one in the state system; it is also one that attracts a great deal of attention in the process of revising our constitution this time. After reading the "Draft of the Revised Constitution," I feel that compared to the several constitutions of the past, there are some new changes and developments in the provisions of this Draft on the institution of our head of state. This is a rather popular revision. On this, the present article intends to provide some exposition as to the basic characteristics, essential nature, form, etc., of the head of state in conjunction with the actual situations of Chinese and foreign institutions of the head of state.

#### 1. Basic Characteristics of the Head of State

The term applied to the head of state was found long ago in our ancient documents. For instance, in the section "Yiji, Book of History" it is written: "The Head of State was wise; his officials were good; and the affairs of the common people were well handled." Also, the section "Biography of Lang Kai, History of the Later Han Dynasty" states: "The three Dukes answer commands from above at the foot of the Throne and respond to presentations from below in apposition to the Head of State," etc. Among political theories of the West, there prevailed at one time an "organic theory of state" actually, this kind of political idea rose far earlier in China than it did in the West. More than 2,000 years ago the Chinese already compared the ruler to man's head, that is, head of the state, and his ministers to man's limbs (assistants/officials). Just as "Memorial on Licentious Customs and Remnant Abuses, Zuo's Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals" suggests: "Of man's body his head is sovereign, and his limbs are appendages." Hence, according to such recordings in our documents, the concept of head of state in our ancient times always meant the ruler. In the ancient history of Western Europe, except when forms of a republican regime appeared, generally speaking, the head of state of a slave system or a feudal system likewise meant the ruler. This concept prevails even today in certain developed countries, such as the monarchical states of Britain, Holland, Sweden and Belgium. Of course, the heads of state of these countries, compared to those of antiquity or the medieval period, have in essence already undergone very great changes. Here only some explanations about general characteristics of present-day heads of state are provided:

### (1) The Head of State Pertains to the Class and Historical Category Head

The Head of State, as the top part of a structure of political power, is closely connected to the state; this head of state comes into being when a state is born. Although in primitive society there were also chieftains of tribes, they were not representatives of states separated from society; the respect people exhibited toward these tribal chieftains was free and voluntary and not secured on account of particular laws. Engels said: "The most powerful kings and dignitaries or commanding generals of the greatest countries of civilized days may envy the indisputable respect enjoyed, and not imposed by coercive means, by the most ordinary tribal chieftains." He pointed out, the "tribal chieftains stood inside society" whereas the dignitaries and commanding generals of states and kings are "things external to, and above, society."<sup>1</sup> Here Engels profoundly revealed the fundamental distinction between heads of state and tribal chieftains; heads of state have a class character and are the instruments of class rule, while tribal chieftains are otherwise.

Exploiter heads of state are essentially, as Engels said, "things external to, and above, society." Even in the case of the head of state of a socialist country, whose essential character is already different from that of an exploiter head of state and who has already begun to return to society, the reason the proletariat needs the state is still because of intent to suppress its own enemies; hence, the power of such a head of state still inevitably needs to be maintained by special laws. Only when we reach communist society will the head of state disappear along with the withering away of the state itself; the organizers or social leaders then will no longer have a class character and become men voluntarily respected by people.

### (2) The Head of State Externally Represents the Country

In today's international community, the heads of state are the highest representatives in foreign affairs of their respective countries. Within the limits prescribed by the constitution of his own country, the head of state's political activity in which he is engaged while representing his country in foreign affairs and the speeches he delivers need not be particularly authorized. In the foreign relations of any country, there are always many necessary tasks to be performed, such as the head of state dispatching envoys to foreign countries, accepting the letters of credentials submitted by foreign envoys stationed in the country; under such circumstances, he does so not as an individual but as the symbol of the state. His acceptance of those letters of credentials imply the recognition of their bearers as the legitimate representatives dispatched by independent states. Also, in concluding treaties with foreign countries (which generally must be ratified by the legislative organ) or ratifying treaties his own government has concluded with foreign countries (if the head of state is the highest organ of power or part of it), the head of state represents the whole state when he signs them. Treaty obligations must be observed by the people of the whole country.

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1. "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4 p 168

In the territories of foreign countries, the head of state enjoys full diplomatic immunities. These immunities include: the head of state's person, the inviolability of his personal belongings and residence, freedom of communication with his own country and other countries by confidential codes and diplomatic carriers, exemption from excise tax and enjoyment of various ceremonial deferences, and non-application of the laws of the host country on him. The spouse and members of the entourage of the head of state are usually also accorded deferential treatment according to established international conventions.

### (3) Exercising Powers of the Head of State According to the Constitution

The constitutions of various countries usually incorporate clear provisions on what kind of functions and powers their heads of state can exercise. Although, because concrete political systems are different, the contents of such provisions can hardly be uniform, from the actual situations of most countries we can summarize certain powers commonly exercised by a head of state and call them "powers of the head of state." Possessing powers of the head of state is one of the important characteristics of a head of state.

Powers of the head of state include the following: (i) The power to promulgate laws. The laws of all countries are enacted by their legislative organs; whether or not the head of state is a part of his country's legislative organ is by no means consistent among countries of the world; what are the procedures for passing a legislation and whether or not a head of state has the veto are also different between the countries. But once a bill of law is passed by a legislature it is promulgated by the head of state: this is quite common. Without such promulgation, a law cannot take effect. (ii) The power to issue orders. The head of state, as the country's chief, has the power to issue orders. As for the kinds of questions on which such orders can be issued and the degrees to which such orders can cover on them and the legal effects of these orders, while different countries differ from each other, they generally include the issuing of orders of appointment and removal, the issuing of orders on the application of nationwide or regional marshall law, the issuing of orders on nationwide or regional mobilization, etc. These functions and powers may be said to be common to all heads of state. (iii) The exercise of the highest power in foreign affairs. The head of state represents the country externally; he has the power to send or recall plenipotentiary envoys stationed in foreign countries; he accepts foreign envoys; he concludes or ratifies, annuls treaties and important agreements concluded with foreign countries; he declares war against, and concludes peace with, foreign countries, etc. (iv) The power to command the armed forces. According to the conventions of various countries, the head of state is the supreme chief of all troops and commands the country's armed forces. There are of course also individual exceptions, as in some countries of the world the power to command the military is no longer for the head of state to exercise. (v) Appointment and removal of high-ranking officials. The extent to which the head of state can appoint and remove high-ranking officials is different in different countries. The more general practice is for him to appoint and remove the premier of the government, members of the cabinet (high commissioners of state or ministers), ambassadors and ministers stationed in foreign countries, etc. (vi) The power to grant pardons and confer honors. The head of state may issue orders of general amnesty or special pardons and confer medals of merits and rewards as well as various honorific titles on particular units or individuals.

#### (4) The Status of the Head of State Is Provided in the Constitution

The head of state is different from the head of government. Although in reality in some countries, such as France, the United States, Switzerland, etc., the head of state and the head of government are one and the same, the concepts of the two are after all different. Since the head of state is the symbol and representative of the state, it is necessary to provide in the constitution clearly as to who is the country's head of state. For instance, it is provided in Article 89 of the Korean Constitution: "The Chairman of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea is the Head of State; he represents the People's Democratic Republic of Korea and state power." Also, Article 71 of the Romanian Constitution provides: "The President of the Romanian Socialist Republic is the Head of State and represents state power in the domestic and external relations of the Romanian Socialist Republic." Further, Article 87 of the Italian Constitution likewise provides: "The President of the Republic is the Head of State and represents the common unity of the country," etc. There are also countries in the world in whose constitutions the question of who is the head of state of the particular country is not clearly provided, such as the United States. But from the way the U. S. Constitution treats the status and functions and powers of the president, the president being the head of state is very clear. In another situation, such as the Japanese Constitution, which likewise fails to incorporate the provision as to who is the head of state but merely states in its Article 1: "The Emperor is the symbol of the state of Japan, the symbol of all citizens of the state of Japan"; since the term "symbol" is not very precise in its connotation and since the emperor does not enjoy the actual power of a head of state, whether or not the emperor is the head of state is therefore subject to some controversy in the academic circles of Japan. But a country like Japan should have its own head of state, that is beyond doubt. From the status of the emperor and his political activities, particularly his political influence, we can see that the emperor is a nominal ruler; it may not be inappropriate to take him as the head of state. Similarly, in a great country such as ours, it is also necessary for the constitution to take the further step to provide clearly the status of the head of state.

## II. Classification of Heads of State According to Their Essence and Forms

The class essence of the head of state is consistent with the class essence of the state, this requires no further elaboration. Because of the difference in the essence of the state, the heads of state of countries in the contemporary world may be classified into the two major categories of heads of state of countries of exploitative classes and heads of state of proletarian countries. The former are the instruments of dictatorship of the exploiters; not only do the powers they exercise and their political activities invariably serve the interests of the exploitative classes, but those who serve as such heads of state themselves are also representative of the exploitative classes and some of them are directly big landowners and big capitalists. We need not mention the emperor of the Central African Empire who fell from power not long ago, Bokassa, who is decorated all over with pearls and precious stones and who indulges in cannibalism or Uganda's tyrant, Amin, who drinks human blood, even in the case

of "civilized" countries in Europe and America, the President of the United States today is himself a millionaire.<sup>1</sup> From the domestic and foreign policies carried out by the heads of state of the capitalist countries, we can even more readily understand their essence. In the case of the budget President Reagan recently proposed, even capitalist newspapers have criticized it as one which exempts the rich from taxation and makes the poor "suffer greatly" (words used by THE WALL STREET JOURNAL). As for the foreign policies of such heads of state, once we mention the war of aggression President Truman launched against Korea and the order he issued on the arbitrary occupation of our sacred territory Taiwan, we can also readily understand the whole story. Contrary to this, the heads of the socialist countries are the public servants of the people; they exemplarily carry out the policies of the proletariat and serve the people wholeheartedly. The head of state of the People's Republic of China belongs to this category; he is the head of state of a socialist country; this is well known to everyone.

In order to examine complicated things more carefully, apart from classifying them according to their difference in class essence, we may also further classify the heads of state in terms of their forms.

(1) From the methods of their origination, the world has inherited offices of the head of state and directly or indirectly elected heads of state.

The common characteristic of bourgeois monarchies is the succession to their thrones, by which the office of the head of state is inherited from generation to generation. Of course, there is also a difference between various methods of succession to the throne.

The heads of state of republican systems are elected, and they are generally called President. In terms of the methods of election, they may be further classified into two kinds: one is elected by parliament; to this kind belong the president of the Czechoslovak Republic, the president of the Fourth Republic of France, the president of the Singaporean Republic, and the like. The other kind is not elected by parliament; under this there are further other different conditions: a) election by ballots directly cast by voters; for instance, the President of today's Philippine Republic is directly elected by the voters; b) election indirectly by the voters; for instance, the election of the U. S. president requires that voters of various states first select "electors," and then these electors cast their votes in order to elect the president; c) election by specific group; this is a mixture of the above two modes. For instance, the president of the Fifth Republic of France before 1962 was elected by an electoral corps, and the electoral corps was made up of deputies elected by members of the National Assembly, members of the provincial assemblies, members of assemblies of overseas dependencies, and municipal assemblies.

The head of state of the People's Republic of China is elected by the National People's Congress; this is a demonstration of the principle of socialist democracy.

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1. Consult "Biography of Reagan" published by the U. S. Political Biographic Co.

(2) Classified by Their Corporal Forms, There Are Individual Heads of State and Collective Heads of State

Individual head of state is an office served by an individual, but this by no means excludes deputy office(s), such as vice president, vice chairman, etc. Because such a deputy office merely assists the head of state to carry out his functions and does not occupy a position equal to that of the head of state himself, even if there are many deputy offices they by no means constitute a collective head of state. Whenever two or more individuals simultaneously serve in the office of the head of state and they share equal power, they are then called a collective head of state. Individual head of state is a more common form and has long been in practice. While collective head of state also has had its rather early origin -- for instance, in the Roman Republic of 500 B. C., its head of state consisted of consuls elected by the comitia centuriata who numbered two and who shared equal power; and France in 1795-1799 adopted the system of "Directoire" that was composed of five members who shared equal power and constituted a collective head of state -- it was after all not a common form in history and has come to be adopted by more countries only recently.

(3) Classified by terms of office, there are life-tenure heads of state and heads of state with limited terms of office.

Generally speaking, heads of state of hereditary monarchies hold a life-tenure office. Heads of state of democratic republics usually have fixed terms of office; but different countries follow different systems, so the lengths of such terms are also different. The country with the shortest term of office for its head of state is the Republic San Marino; his term is limited to half a year, and re-election is held each year in April and October. The term of office of the Swiss president is 1 year; that of the U. S. president, 4 years; that of the president of West Germany, 5 years; that of the president of the Philippines, 6 years; and that of both France and Italy, 7 years.

Some heads of state of democratic republics also hold life-tenure office, and this situation may be classified into two kinds: (i) The legal life-tenure system; for instance, the Yugoslav Constitution passed in 1974 provides that "Josip Broz Tito shall be elected President of the Republic with an unlimited term of office" (Article 333); and (ii) de facto life-tenure system.

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, all heads of state have never exceeded two terms in office; therefore legally or actually, a life-tenure office for a head of state never existed.

(4) From the situation in which heads of state exercise their functions and powers, there is also a distinction between those who serve concurrently as heads of government and those who do not, i.e., between those who perform substantive functions and those who only have empty titles.

The power of the heads of state of some countries is very limited; they only shoulder some ceremonial tasks; in some other countries, while in their constitutions and laws a long series of major functions and powers are provided for their heads of state, these are enjoyed by them only in form but not really

exercised, and hence these heads of state are all non-substantive. On the other hand, in cases where the constitutions confer rather great power on the heads of state and these heads of state also actually fulfill such constitutionally provided functions and powers, they are substantive heads of state. Generally speaking, heads of state of countries of the parliamentary and responsible cabinet system such as the king of England are basically non-substantive, whereas heads of state of countries of the presidential system such as the United States, France, Egypt, and the Philippines, and those of countries of the dual system such as Nepal, Jordan, Morocco and Saudi Arabia, they hold substantive power and enjoy actual authority.

To sum up all the above, the forms of the heads of state of various countries in the world are very complicated. The reason that this is the case is determined by the myriad factors that the historical conditions under which various countries are situated are different, their situations of economic development are different, the relative ratios between the political forces of various factions in their common trial of strength are different, the angles from which the rulers consider their fundamental interests are different, and the traditional characteristics of their respective nations are likewise different. Extensive study of other people's experiences will by no means be of no benefit to our own country.

### III. The Head of State of Our Country

The head of state of the People's Republic of China is a component part of the socialist system of state. It is a proletarian organ of state representing the interests of the vast ranks of the people. Since the founding of our state, our head of state has undergone several changes.

#### (1) Evolution of the Installation of Our Head of State

Since the founding of our state, the question as to who is our head of state has been by no means very clear in law; that is to say, we have not, as in the case of the above-mentioned Korea, Romania, and Italy, clearly provided in our constitution as to who is our head of state.

The evolution of our head of state may be generally divided into four stages: The first stage was the early days of the founding of our state; we may regard the Central People's Government Council then, as the collective head of state of the country. The grounds for this are two: First, the Central People's Government Organic Law at the time provided: "The Central People's Government Council represents the People's Republic of China externally and guides the regime of the state domestically" (Article 4); secondly, Comrade Dong Biwu said in his report on the "Draft of that Law" before the CPPCC in September 1949: "The functions and powers of the Central People's Government Council are mostly provided by the constitutions of various countries as functions and powers of the head of state." But we must see that the chairman of the Central People's Government had an important role to play because the organic Law provided that he "presides over the meetings of the Central People's Government Council and leads the work of the Central People's Government Council." Even so, to regard the Central People's Government Council as our collective head of state at the time, as a theoretical interpretation, is still appropriate.

The second stage was 1954, when our system of state underwent some change, but in our constitution there was no clear provision as to who is our head of state. Some think that our head of state was the NPC Standing Committee and the PRC Chairman. Actually, such an understanding is theoretically not necessarily immune from attack because: (i) the question of how the functions and powers of our head of state are exercised by no means answers the question directly who is our head of state. If because it was said that the functions and powers of our head of state were exercised by the Standing Committee in conjunction with the chairman, we therefore regard both of them as the heads of state, then let us ask, is there any reason that country should have two organs of state simultaneously as its head of state?

(ii) Our head of state, compared to that of the Presidium of the Yugoslav Federated Republics and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviets, which are themselves collective organs, was also different in form. What Comrade Shaoqi said about our's being a collective head of state should be understood in terms of the chairman's conduct, which was not a matter of individual dictation but based on collective decisions, but we cannot conversely regard all collective bodies participating in the making of those decisions as heads of state; otherwise, would our heads of state have been limited to the chairman and the Standing Committee? For instance, the chairman, in appointing and removing members of the State Council, issuing an order of amnesty, would be exercising the power of the head of state on the basis of NPC decisions; if we should regard those who participate in this joint exercise of the power of the head of state as heads of state, then we are bound to reach the conclusion tha the NPC was also a head of state, in which case the NPC, its Standing Committee, and the chairman would have become our heads of state; this, I am afraid, would not be very scientific.

(iii) The functions and powers of the chairman provided in our 1954 constitution are all typically power of the head of state in nature, and the constitution explicitly provided that "The chairman represents the People's Republic of China externally." Therefore, it is logical to regard the chairman as the head of state. As for the fact that the chairman, in appointing high-ranking administrative personnel, sending ambassadors, and ratifying treaties, must have the consent of the Standing Committee, this only suggests that the basis for the chairman's exercise of his power was collective decision and not that the Standing Committee was therefore also a head of state. For instance, the president of the United States must have the consent of the Senate in appointing the secretaries of the various departments, but we cannot say that the Senate is therefore also the head of state of the United States. Again, the power of the head of state of the British king is in reality all exercised by the prime minister, parliament, and other organs, but this does not preempt the fact that only the British king is the head of state. In terms of situations even more similar to ours, we may cite as example the Romanian president; his basis for exercising his functions and powers is the decisions of the General National Assembly and the State Affairs Committee (equivalent to our NPC and its Standing Committee), but the Romanian Constitution explicitly provides the president as the head of state, with no suggestion whatsoever that organs exercising functions and powers in conjunction with the president are all heads of state. Of course, this question may be explored further.

The third stage was after the promulgation of our 1975 Constitution, when there was no longer a chairman of the republic. This system has continued up to today. After the chairmanship of the republic was discarded, the constitution failed to provide who is the head of state, and in no other document was this explained; from concrete analyses of the system, too, it would be very difficult to get a clear answer to the question. Compared to our 1954 constitution, our head of state originally had fairly major functions and powers in three aspects: (i) the power to command armed forces of the country; (ii) the power to nominate the premier of the government; and (iii) the supreme power of representation in foreign affairs. After the chairmanship of the republic was discarded, the aforesaid power to command the country's armed forces belonged to the CCP Central Committee chairman; the power to nominate the premier of the government constitutionally belonged to the CCP Central Committee; and the power of representation in foreign affairs belonged to the NPC Standing Committee. Under such a system, who is really the head of state simply cannot be clearly answered legally or factually.

The fourth stage is after the promulgation of the "Draft of the Revised Constitution" today. From this promulgated "Draft of the Revised Constitution," we can see that we are about to revive the installation of a PRC chairman, but he will have certain characteristics different from those of the past.

## (2) What Are the Benefits of Having a Chairman?

In today's world, international exchanges are frequent; if in such international activities a sovereign country actually lacks a representative, that would be inconceivable. China is a great country; it should have a head of state specified by its constitution. If, as designed by the "Draft of the Revised Constitution," a chairman is installed and he is explicitly provided as representing the PRC externally and internally, with the prestige of the head of state symbolizing the great socialist China conferred upon him, that would be beneficial to international protocol and our work in all international intercourse.

Moreover, according to the "Draft of the Revised Constitution," the functions and powers of the NPC Standing Committee are far more expanded than before. Along with the development of the democratization of our national life, the future NPC Standing Committee surely will demonstrate more and more of its role as the presider over the Standing Committee, is bound to have his burden of tasks increased. After the chairman of the republic is installed, to turn over a part of the work, especially such as the ceremonial, procedural work presently done by the chairman of the Standing Committee to the chairman [of the republic] is bound to be beneficial to the chairman concentrating his energy on doing a good job in handling well all his own tasks. This same reason also applies to the premier of the State Council, so that the premier can have more time and energy to handle government work.

Just as stated above, after 1975 there was no longer a chairman of the republic and hence the power of the head of state was according to provisions of the Constitution exercised respectively by the CCP Central Committee chairman, the CCP Central Committee, and the NPC Standing Committee. Under such circumstances, not only was it not very clear as to who was the head of state, but the practice

also ensued in which the party's leading organs were confused with organs of the regime of the state. After the chairmanship of the republic is installed from now on, these above shortcomings can be corrected and our state system will thus also be improved.

After the founding of our state, the institutionalization of a chairman of the republic lasted as long as 25 years; this was delightedly accepted by the vast ranks of the masses. Generally speaking, if a certain political form with profound influence among the masses can be continually maintained, that would be of benefit to the feelings and psychology of the people. If we look around the world, there is also no lack of such examples.

(3) What Are the Characteristics of the 'Draft of the Revised Constitution' on the Chairman

The office of the chairman of the republic has been interrupted in our law already for nearly 8 years; it shall be restored from now on. This indicates the stability of our country and the further normalization of its political life, and it is therefore very popular. Its main characteristics are:

(i) The "Draft of the Revised Constitution" clearly establishes the status of the chairman: the chairman represents the country both internally and externally. He occupies a lofty position but, on the other hand, he must follow NPC decisions and NPC Standing Committee decisions when he exercises his functions and powers. The chairman's activities are closely united with the collective; this is the substance of the superiority of the socialist head of state system, as it is by no means necessary to have a collectively constituted head of state formalistically. Some comrades often connect an individual head of state to the bourgeoisie, thinking that a socialist state must have a collective head of state; actually, this is entirely a misunderstanding. Just as this article has discussed above, the bourgeoisie in some cases also adopts the collective head of state system, such as Switzerland, San Marino and the French Republic of 1795. On the other hand, the proletariat in some cases also adopts the individual head of state system, such as Korea, Romania, etc. Our chairmanship absorbs the strong points of many countries of the world, and is a head of state system of a combination of the individual and the collective. It is creative and a system which suits our concrete national conditions.

(ii) The functions and powers exercised by the chairman, relatively speaking, are far more limited than those provided in the 1954 Constitution. He no longer commands the country's armed forces and no longer serves as chairman of the Supreme National Defense Council. Besides, because in fact we already have many avenues and forms through which political consultation can be carried out, forms such as the Supreme State Conference are no longer necessary; hence the chairman no longer convenes a Supreme State Conference and serves as its chairman.

(iii) The chairman does not shoulder any administrative responsibilities. From the power of the chairman, we can see that when a new government is organized he appoints its premier. But he must follow NPC resolutions to the full in appointing the premier and other members of the State Council. The State Council is

responsible to the NPC and its Standing Committee, and not to the chairman. The chairman's other functions and powers are mostly based on the decisions of the NPC and its Standing Committee. Therefore the chairman himself really shoulders no responsibilities.

(iv) The chairman's terms of office is restricted by the constitution; that is it is limited to continuation by re-election only once. Although the chairman has no actual power, shoulders no administrative responsibilities, and does not get involved in government work, and therefore the length of his term of office does not have any great significance, because ours is a country where in principle limited tenures of office are practiced and where such tenures are hence provided for the chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, its vice chairman, the premier of the State Council, its vice premiers, etc., it is thus necessary also to provide that continuation of the chairman and his vice chairmen in their offices shall not exceed two terms.

The People's Republic of China is a great socialist state. At the same time, according to the long experience in our political history, it is also necessary to ensure institutionally that no individual shall hold the power to determine the affairs of state, in order to avoid the resultant rise of various unwholesome practices. Precisely because of such a fundamental spirit and point of departure, the new constitution revives the installation of the chairman, but on the other hand also limits his power so as to have him shoulder no administrative responsibilities and limits his tenure in office as well. This is the summing-up of history.

9255  
CSO: 4005/1075

PARTY AND STATE

'DAZHONG RIBAO' ON REVOLUTIONARIES' COMMUNIST SPIRIT

HK100300 Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 29 Aug 82 p 1

[Commentator's article: "Revolutionaries Must Have Communist Spirit"]

[Text] Comrade Mao Zedong once said: A man must have spirit. As a proletarian revolutionary, what kind of spirit must we have? We must have communist spirit, and untiring study, labor and work, and fight all our life for the cause of communism. This is the most valuable morality and the most characteristic essence of proletarian revolutionaries. However, at present not all the people are thinking and acting in this way. Some people believe in so-called "material benefits"; they say: "This doctrine or that doctrine, whatever benefits me is the best doctrine." With this erroneous belief, they seek their own interests, strive for money, concentrate on their own personal benefit and engage in building cozy nests for their children. As for the great cause of the four modernizations and the people's interests, they have cast them all to the winds. This state of mind is incompatible with the spirit of communism and must be transformed through wide-ranging propaganda and education in communist ideology.

Why do we make revolution? It is not for pay nor for any personal "benefit." It is for the realization of the lofty ideal of communism. Those who join revolution merely for pay and reward are not qualified to be proletarian revolutionaries. From the day of its founding, our party has raised high the banner of communism, regarded communism as its maximum program and target and initiated the earthshaking communist movement. Our party could develop from a communist group of only a few dozen people to a great party in power with 38 million party members, and achieve victories in the democratic revolution and socialist revolution and construction because we upheld the truth of communism. The more than 60 years of history of our party is a history of the communist movement and a history of struggle in realizing the lofty ideals of communism.

In the brutal war years and under enemy White terror, why did millions of revolutionaries from all corners of the country risk the ruin of their families to embrace the party and join the revolutionary ranks? Because they cherished the ideal of communism; and it was the common ideal of communism that tightly bound them together. From the very day they joined the revolution, they risked everything including their lives, singing aloft

the solemn battlesong "The Internationale Will Surely Be Attained," and exerted all their painstaking efforts for the great practice of communism. Because they had the objective of communism in their hearts, they could advance wave upon wave and march forward courageously; because they had firm and unswerving faith in communism, they were able to resist luxury when rich, to be unshakable when poor, and could never be subdued by force. For his entire life, the revolutionary pioneer Li Dazhao "carried morality on his iron shoulders and wrote articles with his wonderful hands." What he carried was communist morality, and what he wrote was communist articles. When he was arrested together with his wife and daughter, "in the 20 days in jail, he never talked about family affairs." His last lecture, made under the enemy gallows, was a declaration that communism would inevitably win victory, and this manifested his boundless loyalty toward the cause of communism. The poems "Song in Jail" and "Die a Martyr" by the revolutionary [words illegible] of revolutionary martyrs have devoted their lives for the glorious cause of communism.

Today when our communist movement has developed to the initial stage of communism, we must further vigorously carry on the communist spirit. Only by carrying forward the communist spirit, can we surmount all difficulties, achieve still greater victories and continuously develop the communist movement. As a matter of fact, in our daily life, there are new communist people and deeds emerging every day and the communist spirit is shining everywhere. Those heroes who sacrificed their lives in the war to defend the motherland and in the struggle to help people fight flood and tide over natural disasters; and those labor models who are assiduously working day and night, year in and year out on the various fronts in building socialism--they are all communist fighters in the socialist period. They selflessly dedicate their whole lives solely to further develop the communist movement and realize the lofty ideals of communism. They fully understand that the communist system will not drop from heaven or spontaneously come into being nor will it emerge from empty talk. Communism can only be attained through the generations by millions of people who have communist spirit. All loyal communists, Youth League members and all revolutionary masses should take heroes and models as their examples, impel and urge themselves on with the brilliant deeds of the revolutionary martyrs and the revolutionaries of the older generation, arm their minds and guide their actions with communist thought and be communist men of action with earnest and down-to-earth work style. They must be concerned about the affairs of state before others, enjoy comfort after others, and work and labor with consciousness and initiative to help build communism and bring benefit for the future generations.

In launching the communist movement under the guidance of the communist ideological system, we must not only build a high degree of socialist material civilization but also of socialist spiritual civilization. It is wrong to ignore the building of material civilization and to institute a "poverty-stricken glory." But if we comprehend socialism as merely an accumulation of wealth and a rise in the standard of material life, then we will become one-sided and lose the socialist orientation and the spiritual motive force. We will therefore be unable to resist the

invasion of capitalist ideas and are bound to go astray. Only under the guidance of the ideological system of communism and, while energetically developing socialist material civilization and vigorously developing socialist spiritual civilization, can we uphold socialism in its complete sense. Socialist spiritual civilization regards communist thought as its core and it is fundamentally different from capitalist spiritual civilization. In a capitalist society, all social relations and the relations between men are based on money to seek fame and wealth and benefit oneself at the expense of others. That is their ethics. In our socialist country, all behavior that is selfish, seeks private gains at public expense and harms others to benefit oneself, and those people who are obsessed by lust of money and unwilling to give up even a hair to others are most contemptible. Only those who wholeheartedly serve the people and devote their lives for the cause of the four modernizations are most respectable. Those who are sated with food and remain idle, who do no work or show no concern for the weal and woe of the masses but take advantage of their power to seek private benefits and engage the whole day in building their cozy nest arouse public indignation and are condemned. This is also the reason why so-called "material benefits" is wrong. All those who are willing to dedicate themselves to the cause of the four modernizations and vigorously developing China should carry forward communist spirit and fight against all erroneous thinking and actions and be socialist new men with ideals, morality, culture and discipline.

In proposing communist spirit, we do not at all mean that we should ignore practical interest. But when we speak of "material benefit," we must speak of people's benefit and communist benefit. In fact, our party is concerned most for the interest of the people. Interests are manifested in many ways. Our party is not only concerned for the current interests of the people but also for the long-term interests of the people; not only for the material interests of the people, but also for the political and spiritual interests of the people. The building of material and spiritual civilizations are the fundamental interests of the broad masses of people, manifested in many ways. The line, principles and policies put forward by the party since the Third CPC Plenary Session were all closely linked with the interest of the people, and the masses of people did gain many benefits. Viewing the conditions of our province, the total wages of the workers of the whole province in 1981 increased by 52 percent over 1978; average wages rose from 568 yuan in 1978 to 755 yuan in 1981, an increase of 32.9 percent. Allowing for price increases, real wages have still risen 23.5 percent. The housing condition of workers is gradually improving. The total area of workers' housing built in the whole province between 1979-81 was more than 10 million square meters, much higher than the total area in the 12 years between 1966-1977. The party and government have made their greatest efforts to improve the people's life, since the Third CPC Plenary Session. This is obvious to all. The party shows concern for the people, and the people ardently love the party, love socialism and have a more firm communist faith.

For the comprehensive initiative of a new situation in building socialist modernization and for the lofty ideals of communism, let us inspire ourselves with much higher communist spirit!

PARTY AND STATE

'BA YI' CRITICIZES DENG'S SPEECH, HU'S REPORT

OW100057 (Clandestine) BA YI Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 4 Sep 82

[Text] In principle, any leading Comrade making an important speech at the party congress shoulders immense responsibilities. Summing up past work, making plans for the future, defining major objectives and setting up concrete and practical tasks are the main things he has to do for the whole party, the whole army and the people throughout the country. Regretfully, neither Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening speech nor Comrade Hu Yaobang's report delivered at the congress gives a clear-cut plan for future development nor do they define major objectives or set up concrete and practical tasks to be carried out. First of all, what is puzzling is that Comrade Deng Xiaoping sets forth the so-called four tasks as long-term work for the future. Many comrades in the party and army cannot help asking this question: Are the rectification of the party work style, consolidation of the party organization and restructuring the administrative and economic setups the only things we need to grasp in the next 2 decades? If, as Comrade Deng Xiaoping thinks, we should continue to grasp these few things even up to the end of this century, then at what time are we expected to finish the work of rectifying the party work style and consolidating the party organization so that our party can exercise its leadership correctly, and at what time can we complete the restructuring of the economic setup so that our party can properly lead the important task of economic construction? As another question, shall we continue the struggle to strike at undermining activities in the economic and other fields up to the end of this century? Can our great party and the 1 billion people not wipe out in a shorter period the handful of bad elements engaged in speculation and profiteering, embezzlement and theft? In fact, the four tasks set forth by Comrade Deng Xiaoping should in no way be taken as the most important tasks for the period up to the end of this century. It is true that these tasks are important, but they should not be long-term major tasks. [Words indistinct] we must note that all these problems are products left over by Chairman Mao's erroneous line and thinking. Failure to solve these problems even today has much to do with the series of mistakes that Comrade Deng Xiaoping has committed during the 5 years since he began taking charge of the work at the central level. We can say definitely that if we resolutely do away with the influence of the old erroneous line and thinking and boldly correct Comrade Deng Xiaoping's mistakes committed during the past years by seeking truth from facts, we will be able to accomplish

the four tasks and solve many other questions earlier than the end of this century. Unfortunately, neither Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening speech nor Comrade Hu Yaobang's report delivered at the congress expresses the determination to give up the erroneous line and thinking, and neither makes a serious examination of the mistakes committed during the past years--that is, no attempt is made to solve the fundamental problem. If the fundamental problem has not been solved, how can there be solutions to other problems?

CSO: 4005/1293

PARTY AND STATE

'BA YI' RAPS HU YAOBANG REPORT TO CPC CONGRESS

OW100823 (Clandestine) BA YI Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 5 Sep 82

[Text] At the seventh plenary session of the current party Central Committee discussing the draft of the Central Committee's report to the 12th CPC National Congress, a number of comrades pointed out that the report failed to present concrete details on many aspects and lacked the attitude of seeking truth from facts. Many comrades recalled the report delivered by Comrade Liu Shaoqi to the Eighth CPC National Congress on behalf of the party Central Committee. The party's line, domestic and foreign policies and its concrete program for building the socialist motherland were clearly spelled out in that old report.

It is regrettable to note that the critical opinions raised by the comrades at the seventh plenary session of the current party Central Committee were not contained in the report delivered to the 12th CPC National Congress. As a result, the report delivered by Comrade Hu Yaobang to the congress failed to spell out a long-term national development plan or a concrete program. Some slogans set out in his report are unrealistic and even erroneous. Touching on the main tasks of socialist construction in the years to come, Comrade Hu Yaobang said that the total output value of industrial and agricultural production from 1981 until the end of this century should be quadrupled. This is unrealistic and cannot but cause the people deep concern. Moreover, he failed to put forward any concrete and realistic steps to fulfill this task.

People of the older generation may well recall that in 1958 Chairman Mao Zedong had put forward a similar task when he called for an increase of at least 30-fold in the total industrial and agricultural output value. As a result of the lack of the necessary means with which to fulfill the task he put forward, the so-called "great leap forward" ended in bankruptcy and brought disaster to the state and to the people.

A new long march program was formulated in 1978. It was also unrealistic and died prematurely after creating tremendous damage to the national economy. This set the country's economic development back several years. At that time, Deng Xiaoping, on more than one occasion, criticized Hua Guofeng, Li Xiannian, Yu Qiuli, Gu Mu and other comrades for putting forward such an unrealistic long march task.

Why is it that these bitter lessons have not been kept in mind? Why is it that a leap forward-type plan, proved to be impractical, should have been put forward at this time? Delegates to the current party congress did not dare to criticize it at their group discussions. This shows that the patriarchal behavior of feudalism is still entrenched in this country. It would be excellent if our respected and beloved commander in chief, Peng Dehuai, still lived today. He would dare to resolutely oppose petty bourgeois fanaticism and heroically defend the interests of the country and the people.

CSO: 4005/1293

PARTY AND STATE

'HUNAN RIBAO' ARTICLE ON MAO'S EARLY PATRIOTISM

HK091240 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2310 GMT 8 Sep 82

[Text] HUNAN RIBAO carries on the upper part of page 3 today an article by Comrades (Gao Juchun) and (Tang Zhennan) of the exhibition hall at Mao Zedong's old dwelling in Shaoshan, entitled "Learn From Comrade Mao Zedong's Patriotism In His Student Years." The article reads as follows:

"I am determined to see the world.  
Without acquiring scholarly honor I will not return.  
Why must we be buried in our native place?  
We can thrive anywhere in our life."

This is the poem written by Comrade Mao Zedong to express his soaring aspirations when he left Shaoshan at the age of 16 to study in other places. Even when he was a student, Comrade Mao Zedong made up his mind to save the country and the people. His ardent patriotism and his spirit of studying diligently and arduously seeking truth for the sake of the country and the people are still worthy of our learning today, in particular by the broad masses of teenagers. To put it in a concrete way, the aspirations and ideals of Comrade Mao Zedong at that time were arduously seeking truth for saving the country and the people. The only thing on his mind was to liberate the miserable Chinese people from the dual oppression of imperialism and feudalism and to make our country independent, free and prosperous.

When he was studying in (Xiangxiang Dongxiang) primary school in the second half of 1910, Comrade Mao Zedong, spurred on by his ardent patriotism, learned by heart bourgeois reformist books and articles of Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao. While studying at Hunan's Provincial No 1 Teachers' College in the summer of 1915, he wrote in big characters on the cover of a book entitled (Longshi Pian [Stories About the Dragon]), which exposed the Japanese imperialists' aggression against China and the traitorous crimes of Yuan Shikai: To avenge the insult inflicted on the Republic of China on 7 May depends on us students. In addition, in a poem he wrote in memory of his fellow student (Ding Gu), he also expressed his worries about the country and the people.

In order to save the country and to overthrow the Qing government--the running dog of the imperialists--Comrade Mao Zedong resolutely threw aside his writing brush and joined the new army in October 1911. He stayed in the

army for half a year. After Yuan Shikai seized state power and the 1911 revolution failed, he decided to leave the new army. In the course of arduously seeking truth, Comrade Mao Zedong enriched his knowledge, accumulated experience and increased his ability and faith in saving the country and the people. In his diary, he wrote: It is a great joy to struggle against heaven, earth and men.

In order to mobilize and organize the masses to save the country and to save themselves, Comrade Mao Zedong issued, in the name of Ershibahua Sheng, [28 strokes--the same number of strokes of the 3 Chinese characters Mao Zedong] a notice requesting to make friends with young people who worked hard, were able to endure hardships, and were determined to sacrifice their lives for the country at any time. He proposed to organize a revolutionary society and his proposal met with the approval of all his friends. After some discussion, this society was named Xinmin Xuehui. He drafted a constitution for this society. Thus the Xinmin Xuehui, which later exerted an extensive influence on China's situation and destiny, was officially formed on 14 April 1918.

In June 1918, Comrade Mao Zedong graduated from the No 1 Teachers' College. In August, he went to Beijing for the first time in order to organize Hunan's progressive youths and progressive public figures to participate in the national movement of going to study in France on part-study, part-work schemes. In Beijing, he made friends with many well-known figures who advocated a new cultural movement and studied in good time Li Dazhao and other's articles which praised the October revolution in Russia and publicized Marxism. Comrade Mao Zedong finally found the only truth that could save China--Marxism-Leninism--and started a new struggle in saving the country and the people.

CSO: 4005/1293

PARTY AND STATE

EIGHTH HEBEI CYL CONGRESS CONCLUDES 27 AUGUST

HK080953 Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 28 Aug 82

[Summary] The Eighth Hebei Provincial CYL Congress, which lasted 5 days, concluded on the afternoon of 27 August. The congress declared: "CYL organizations at all levels, CYL members and young people throughout the province must seriously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought; study cultural, scientific and technological knowledge; heighten awareness of communism; and, under the leadership of the CPC Central Committee and CPC committees at all levels, study, blaze new trails, be realistic and struggle hard. They must make even greater contributions toward opening up a new prospect for our province's CYL work and in striving for a new victory in our province's socialist modernization."

This congress received the earnest interest of the Provincial CPC Committee and the CYL Central Committee. Principal leading comrades, including Gao Yang, Liu Bingyan and (Zhang Zhuguang), attended the congress. Zhao Yimin delivered an important speech at the congress. On behalf of the Provincial CPC Committee, he placed high hopes on the CYL members and young people throughout the province and set strict demands on CYL work.

At the congress, the deputies listened to, examined, discussed and passed the work report entitled "Lead All CYL Members and Young People Throughout the Province to Struggle Hard in Order to Open Up a New Aspect of Socialist Modernization in an All-Round Way." The work report was delivered by (Feng Wenhui) on behalf of the Provincial CYL Committee. Fifty-six units and individuals delivered oral or written speeches, exchanging their experiences in CYL work for the new period and reporting on their advanced ideology and exemplary deeds.

At the congress, the deputies reviewed CYL work since the Seventh Provincial CYL Congress and summed up their experiences. They fully affirmed the active role of the CYL members and young people throughout the province in the four modernizations and the results they achieved." They clearly put forth the principle and tasks of CYL work in the province in the future, which are that under the leadership of the Provincial CPC Committee and CPC committees at all levels, CYL organizations at all levels throughout the province must unswervingly implement the line, principles and policies of the party, persist in arming the young people with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong

Thought and modern scientific and cultural knowledge and lead all young people throughout the province to serve as a brave shock brigade to open up a new prospect."

Finally, all deputies elected the Eighth Provincial CYL Committee, which comprises 87 committee members, including (Feng Wenhai), and 13 alternate committee members. They also elected 88 provincial delegates to attend the 11th CYL National Congress.

On the evening of 27 August, the Eighth Provincial CYL Committee held its first plenary meeting to elect the secretary, deputy secretaries and Standing Committee members, as follows: Secretary (Feng Wenhai); Deputy Secretaries (Wu Zhenhua), (Wang Huifang)--female, (Ju Zhiqiang) and (Yu Tongyi); and Standing Committee members (Yu Tongyi), (Huang Xiwen), (Wang Heping), (Wang Huifang)--female, (Feng Wenhai), (Li Baochun), (Li Anming), (Zhang Hequan), (Wu Zhenhua), (Dong Kui) and (Ju Zhiqiang).

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PARTY AND STATE

BEIJING RADIO ARTICLE ON LIAO ZHONGKAI

Part I

OW040953 Beijing in Mandarin to Taiwan 1830 GMT 30 Aug 82

[First part of article by (Shang Mingxuan) and (Wang Xuezhuang): "Liao Zhongkai and the First KMT-CPC Cooperation" with the subtitle "Liao Zhongkai Was a Capable Assistant to Dr Sun Yat-sen in Reorganizing the KMT"]

[Excerpts] In his long revolutionary career, Liao Zhongkai did a lot in the interests of the people. The most brilliant chapter in his revolutionary history was his dedication to KMT-CPC cooperation and his death for this cause.

The realization of the first cooperation between the CPC and the KMT was symbolized by the latter's reorganization. Reorganizing the KMT, with assistance from the CPC, was a righteous and courageous step taken by Dr Sun Yat-sen to conform with world trends and feeling among the people when Chinese history was entering the period of new democratic revolution led by the proletariat. At that time, Liao Zhongkai was a capable assistant to Dr Sun Yat-sen, the main activist in reorganizing the KMT.

In January 1923, initial progress had been made in preparatory work at KMT reorganization. Liao Zhongkai was appointed counselor of the KMT headquarters.

In February of that year, when Chen Chiung-Ming's rebellious troops were put to rout, Dr Sun Yat-sen returned to Guangzhou and resumed his post as generalissimo of the army and navy of the Republic of China. After that, Liao Zhongkai also came back to Guangzhou to assume the important posts of finance minister of the headquarters and governor of Guangdong Province. Confronted by direct threats from imperialists and their lackeys, namely the warlords in both the north and the south, efforts were stepped up to reorganize the KMT. While taking care of important military and government affairs, Liao Zhongkai did his utmost to assist Dr Sun Yat-sen in reorganization work. In mid-October, Liao Zhongkai, Li Dazhao and three others were appointed as reorganization committee members to take charge of the work.

On 20 January 1924, the First National Congress of the KMT opened in Guangzhou. It was presided over personally by Dr Sun Yat-sen, while Liao Zhongkai, as

a Guangdong delegate, took part in the leading work of the congress. On 23 January, the congress adopted a declaration, which had been drafted under the direction of Dr Sun Yat-sen, with participation by Communist Party members. The declaration contained a new explanation of the three principles of the people, pointing out that nationalism means opposing imperialism and achieving equality of all nationalities in the country, that democracy is aimed at establishing a democratic system for all people instead of for a few, and that the people's livelihood means controlling capital and equalizing land ownership. The three principles of the people, as newly explained, are revolutionary principles, containing the three great policies of allying with the Soviet Union, allying with the CPC and supporting peasants and workers. Basically, they were identical to the CPC program for the democratic revolution period, and for this reason they were accepted as a common program for KMT-CPC cooperation. As Mao Zedong pointed out, the new three principles of the people were a triumphant revolutionary banner in the high tide of the national revolution.

Liao Zhongkai was well aware of the vital importance of the new principles to the reorganization of the KMT. When the declaration was discussed and examined, he resolutely resisted mistaken opinions attempting to eliminate revolutionary contents from the declaration. After the adoption of the declaration, he stressed that, under any circumstances, it was imperative to take the declaration as a work target and strive hard to achieve it. Subsequent facts indicated that he acted faithfully in what he had said.

## Part II

OW041043 Beijing in Mandarin to Taiwan 1830 GMT 31 Aug 82

[Second part of article by (Shang Mingxuan) and (Wang Xuezhuang): "Liao Zhongkai and the First KMT-CPC Cooperation" with the subtitle "Liao Zhongkai Was a Good Friend of the Communists and Worker-Peasant Masses"]

[Excerpts] Liao Zhongkai attached great importance to the role played by the CPC and the worker and peasant movements under its leadership in the national revolution. He took the initiative in sincerely cooperating with the Communist Party and gave warm support to the worker-peasant masses.

Liao Zhongkai was not a communist. However, he firmly believed that it was necessary to win the goodwill of the Communist Party in order to strike down imperialism in China. He supported communists in carrying out open activities in party, government and army organizations and continuously recommended promising young communists for important positions in order to let them play their role.

When Zhou Enlai returned from France, Liao Zhongkai personally greeted him and appointed him director of the Political Department of the Huangpu Military Academy. He maintained friendly relations with noted communists, such as Li Dazhao, Mao Zedong, Zhu Zhaozhen, Deng Zhongxia, Lin Boqu and Wu Yuzhang, and often discussed with them major matters in the national revolution. His sincere, cooperative and modest attitude won respect and admiration from communists.

Siding with the workers and peasants, Liao Zhongkai supported their anti-imperialist and antifeudal struggle. He faithfully implemented the policy of supporting the workers and peasants and effectively used government power to support the worker and peasant movements. Under his sponsorship and with his participation, the Guangdong revolutionary government issued the first and second declarations on the peasant movement and formulated [words indistinct] and the regulations on the organization of trade unions.

In a word, Liao Zhongkai set an example in going forward hand in hand with the communists and giving full support to the worker and peasant movement during the first KMT-CPC cooperation.

### Part III

OW041351 Beijing in Mandarin to Taiwan 1830 GMT 1 Sep 82

[Third and last part of article by (Shang Mingxuan) and (Wang Xuezhuang): "Liao Zhongkai and the First KMT-CPC Cooperation" with the subtitle "Liao Zhongkai firmly opposed the KMT rightists' efforts to undermine KMT-CPC cooperation"]

[Excerpts] The rightists within the KMT had persistently resisted and opposed KMT-CPC cooperation ever since exchanges of views on cooperation started. For this reason, struggles between the leftists and rightists were perpetuated throughout the entire process of KMT-CPC cooperation.

Liao Zhongkai firmly opposed the rightists' anticommunist activities. He steadfastly defended the three revolutionary policies of alliance with Russia, cooperation with the CPC and assistance to the peasants and workers, safeguarded the unity between the KMT and the CPC and upheld the KMT's revolutionary orientation.

After Dr Sun Yat-sen announced his determination to reorganize the KMT and invited the communists to join the party, Hu Hanmin, Wang Jingwei, Zhang Ji, Feng Ziyou and other senior founding members of the KMT adopted a defiant attitude. Wang Jingwei and Dai Jitao even attacked Dr Sun Yat-sen's policy decision and the CPC in private. Liao Zhongkai despised the rightist statements and actions and they never disturbed him. With more and more concrete actions, he drew a clear line of demarcation between himself and the rightists.

Overt and covert, direct and indirect, struggles between the leftists and rightists throughout the entire KMT National Congress alarmed Liao Zhongkai. When the congress examined the KMT draft constitution on 28 January 1924, some delegates, instigated by rightists Feng Ziyou and (Ma Shu), proposed a motion restricting KMT members from joining other parties, which, in fact, prevented the CPC members from joining the KMT. In the face of the rightists' sinister intention to sow discord between the KMT and the CPC, Li Dazhao spoke on behalf of CPC members who had joined the KMT in a private capacity and were attending the congress, declaring the CPC members' revolutionary motive to join the KMT and sternly repudiating the motion. However, the rightists were relentless. In view of this, Liao Zhongkai bravely stepped

forward and made an explicit speech at the congress, severely denouncing the rightists' absurdity and expressing his approval of Li Dazhao's statement. He called for cooperation with the CPC.

Owing to the resolute struggle waged by Liao Zhongkai and the CPC members and Dr Sun Yat-sen's firm support, the congress was eventually a victory.

After Dr Sun Yat-sen's death in March 1925, the rightists seized the opportunity to form the "Club of KMT Comrades," "Club of Comrades of the 1911 Revolution" and "Society of Dr Sun Yat-sen's Principles." In view of the situation, Liao Zhongkai published an article in May 1925, entitled "The Revolutionaries and Counterrevolutionaries," repudiating the rightists' sinister scheme to undermine the revolution.

In the summer of 1925, an excellent revolutionary situation emerged in Guangzhou. The (?earth-shaking) general strike took place there in June. This great anti-imperialist struggle encouraged the people of the whole country. In July, the national government was formed and the rightists' power weakened. Liao Zhongkai was appointed councillor and finance minister of the national government and Standing Committee member of the Military Commission.

Liao Zhongkai was the nucleus of the leftists and mainstay of the revolutionary (?cause) after Dr Sun Yat-sen's death. Nevertheless, a more serious struggle started at this moment. A group of rightists, headed by Hu Hanmin, (Deng Zeru) and (Zou Ru), who wielded considerable power in the KMT and government conspired in a scheme to purge party members. They summoned rightists from other places to assemble in Guangzhou in an attempt to hold the fourth plenary session of the First KMT Central Committee and remove Liao Zhongkai and the CPC members from leading posts. The conspiracy was quickly uncovered and repudiated. Realizing that Liao Zhongkai was the big obstacle for the rightists to seize party power and dissolve KMT-CPC cooperation, they decided to get rid of him. Unmoved by repeated warnings that the enemy was about to resort to violence, Liao Zhongkai continued to work, together with the CPC members, in leading the masses to cope with the complex political situation. On 20 August 1925, when Liao Zhongkai was attending a meeting of the KMT Central Executive Committee, he was assassinated by a murderer hired by the rightists in front of the Kuomintang headquarters building.

CSO: 4005/1293

PARTY AND STATE

'BA YI CRITICIZES 12TH CPC CONGRESS WORK REPORT

OW031217 (Clandestine) BA YI Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 1 Sep 82

[Text] Comrade Chen Yun has said that the report of the CPC Central Committee to the National Congress should summarize and evaluate past work and publicly examine its mistakes before the delegates on the one hand, and, put forward measures for correcting past mistakes, set the direction for future efforts and draw up plans for future work on the other. Judged on this criterion, the report to the 12th CPC Congress is obviously much better than those delivered to the 9th, 10th and 11th CPC congresses. The report to the current party congress discussed existing shortcomings and set forth new tasks. In addition, it also made a public self-criticism; regrettably, however, the report failed to incorporate the views of many Central Committee members expressed at the seventh plenary session of the CPC Central Committee on thoroughly resolving the issues left over from history and correcting past mistakes.

We all know that after the death of Mao Zedong and the smashing of the gang of four, and especially after the third and sixth plenary sessions of the CPC Central Committee, efforts were made to expose serious past mistakes, resolve the many questions left over from history and point out the grave mistakes made by Chairman Mao Zedong which brought disasters to the country and the people. People hoped that the 12th CPC Congress would go a step further and correct the mistakes of the past once and for all. However, the report to the congress did not make it clear that the root cause of the past mistakes was the erroneous line and thought. To make things worse, the report stressed the continuous use of the erroneous thought as our guide. By doing so, it opens the possibility of subjecting the country and the people to a new quake.

To the vast numbers of commanders and fighters, the failure of the CPC Central Committee to resolve the Lin Biao case once and for all in its report to the congress is regrettable. This is because the so-called case of the Lin Biao counterrevolutionary clique produced by Kang Sheng and the gang of four has had an extremely bad influence on the army, the party and the country, and has implicated and victimized tens of thousands of people.

It goes without saying that there can be no true stability and unity in the party, the army and the country before the false case of Lin Biao cooked up by Kang Sheng and the gang of four is completely repudiated. Normal party life cannot expect to return if the issues left over by history are not thoroughly and objectively resolved. As the CPC Central Committee report evaded the major issues left by history, it is necessary for the delegates, PLA delegates in particular, to make their views on such issues known in order to make up for the deficiency of the report.

CSO: 4005/1293

## PARTY AND STATE

### EIGHT DEMOCRATIC PARTIES PLAY POSITIVE ROLE

OW310001 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0229 GMT 27 Aug 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 27 Aug (XINHUA)--Since the third plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, along with the gradual implementation of the united front policy, China's eight democratic parties have greatly promoted their organizations' development, and their organizational work has become increasingly active. According to statistics made by the departments concerned, the eight democratic parties have recruited a total of more than 35,000 new members over the past 3 years. Now, they have a total of over 700 local organizations and over 4,000 grassroot branches. All democratic parties are now taking on a new look and playing a positive role in China's political life and socialist modernization.

Over the past 3 years, all democratic parties have offered many constructive ideas and suggestions on state affairs, thus playing a democratic, supervisory role for the work of the CPC and the people's governments. They are called the CPC's friends who will give forthright admonition. Since 1979, the CPC Central Committee has invited all democratic parties and nonparty personages to hold democratic consultation conferences more than once. At these conferences the democratic parties gave many precious ideas and suggestions concerning state affairs. Last December, Hu Juewen, chairman of the China Democratic National Construction Association Central Committee, and Hu Ziang, vice chairman of the same organization, wrote to the leading comrades of the CPC Central Committee offering some pertinent ideas on the question of the united front. The CPC Central Committee thought highly of their views, and many of their ideas and suggestions were accepted.

Members of all democratic parties have also offered many important reference ideas for actual work. Local organizations of the China Democratic League, China Association for Promoting Democracy, Jiusan Society and other parties have held hundreds of discussion meetings and offered over 4,000 ideas and suggestions concerning the reform of China's education system and the education plan in the new period.

Members of all democratic parties and the masses with whom they have established contact have maintained extensive ties with Hong Kong and Macao compatriots, Taiwan compatriots and overseas Chinese. The Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League, the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang,

China Zhi Gong Dang, the Chinese Peasants and Workers Democratic Party and other parties have all strengthened ties with Hong Kong and Macao compatriots, Taiwan compatriots and overseas Chinese. They have done much work in publicizing the true situation on the motherland's mainland, deepening mutual understanding and carrying out scientific and cultural exchange, thus contributing to the motherland's reunification.

Over the past 3 years, all democratic parties have focused their work on the four modernizations, brought into full play their vocational specialties and achieved remarkable results in promoting economic construction and spiritual civilization. In accordance with the needs in the readjustment of the national economy and the four modernizations, they have also organized their members to launch specialized activities. Last year hundreds of thousands of people listened to reports on special topics and seminars sponsored by all democratic parties and held in all localities. They have also mobilized members still at their posts and their retired members to open various kinds of spare-time schools in line with local conditions in order to train qualified personnel for the four modernizations. At present, the democratic parties have run more than 600 spare-time schools with enrollments of more than 100,000 students.

In the excellent situation of China's united front work, members of all democratic parties have a deep sense of being the master of their own affairs, and their patriotic ardor runs high. They are working hard at their posts to make contributions to the four modernizations.

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PARTY AND STATE

ZHU XUEFANG ARTICLE PRAISES HE XIANGNING

HK020827 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 26 Aug 82 p 5

[Article by Zhu Xuefang [2612 1331 5400], vice chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the KMT: "A Revolutionary Forerunner, An Outstanding Woman For a Generation--Commemorating the 10th Anniversary of the Death of Comrade He Xiangning"]

[Text] Comrade He Xiangning was Dr Sun Yat-sen's close comrade-in-arms and Mr Liao Zhongkai's spouse. In their youth, both husband and wife enthusiastically took part in the anti-imperialist and antifeudal revolutionary activities led by Dr Sun Yat-sen and did a lot of work in helping Dr Sun Yat-sen. He Xiangning was the earliest female member of the Tong Meng Huin (Revolutionary League) and a forerunner of the Chinese democratic revolution. What we treasure most is the fact that after Dr Sun and Mr Liao passed away one after another, for the past 40-odd years Comrade He Xiangning was unwavering in her loyalty to the revolutionary propositions of Dr Sun Yat-sen, vowed to adhere to carrying out the unfinished revolutionary wish of Mr Liao Zhongkai and steadfastly took the road of sincerely cooperating with the CPC, thus making the Chinese revolution glow with new radiance. She was worthy of the title of true comrade-in-arms of Dr Sun Yat-sen and close friend of the CPC.

After attending the World Trade Union Council in Prague in 1947, I returned to Hong Kong by way of San Francisco. In San Francisco, in his talk with me, Gen Feng Yuxiang touched on the question of setting up a revolutionary organization of the KMT. He gave me a letter and entrusted me as his plenipotentiary with discussing this question with the KMT revolutionary comrades in Hong Kong. When I came to Hong Kong, the Democrats of the KMT, such as He Xiangning and Li Jishen, were also discussing this matter in a preliminary and informal manner.

At that time, there were differing views among the revolutionary comrades on the question of whether or not the three Chinese characters "Kuomintang" should be reserved in the full name of the proposed KMT revolutionary organization. Finally, Comrade He Xiangning proposed that it should be called "the Revolutionary Committee of the KMT." This would be able to unite more of China's nationalists in taking part in the revolution. Her proposal met with unanimous approval. Together with five other comrades--Li Jishen, Liu Yazi, Peng Zemin, Li Zhangda and Chen Qiyuan--He Xiangning

personally wrote and signed a "petition to Madame Sun" and entrusted me with establishing contact with Comrade Soong Ching Ling, who was in Shanghai at that time. Comrade Soong Ching Ling issued a reply in favor of setting up the KMT revolutionary organization and expressed that she would go all out to support it. On New Year's Day 1948, the Revolutionary Committee of the KMT was set up in Hong Kong.

From the end of 1947, when together with Comrade He Xiangning I made preparations for setting up the Revolutionary Committee of the KMT in Hong Kong, to 15 August 1960, a day when she was elected chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the KMT at the second enlarged plenary session of the Fourth Central Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the KMT, and 1 September 1972, a day when she passed away in Beijing, I was fortunate in having been able to work with her for the Revolutionary Committee of the KMT, and in the long years of getting along with one another and of frequent contacts, I greatly benefitted from her wisdom. She made an unforgettable impression on me.

#### An Outstanding Female Revolutionary

The extraordinary life of Comrade He Xiangning was related to the great era of the Chinese revolution in which she lived, like a powerful eagle fearing no windstorm. She courageously marched forward on the dangerous and difficult road of the Chinese revolution and never retreated. She was an outstanding female revolutionary of this great era.

Comrade He Xiangning had a deep affection for the 1911 revolution. At the ceremony commemorating the 50th anniversary of the 1911 revolution, she made a speech and highly praised the 1911 revolution led by Dr Sun, saying: "The 1911 revolution is a great victory. It destroyed the autocratic monarchy that had ruled China for 2,000 years, spread the ideological seed of democracy and republic and promoted the new advances of the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people." In summing up the historical experience of the 1911 revolution, she said: "In the times of imperialism, with the exception of the proletariat, it is impossible for any other class to lead any true revolutions to victory." "Through the extremely difficult, tortuous and complicated struggle, the CPC led the Chinese people and eventually overthrew the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism and founded the great People's Republic of China in 1949." In an article in commemoration of the 99th birthday of Dr Sun Yat-sen, she wrote that "it is justifiable to say that the summary of the experience gained in the long years of his struggle are the three great revolutionary policies of alliance with Russia, cooperation with the Communist Party and assistance to the peasants and workers for the common struggle against imperialism which were put forth by Dr Sun Yat-sen in 1922 and the new explanation of the three people's principles which he made at the First National Congress of the KMT held in 1924. It is a pity that before he had time to thoroughly carry out his revolutionary propositions, to our great sorrow, he passed away.... What an arduous task for us to carry out the behests of Dr Sun Yat-sen and to uphold the anti-imperialist struggle!" Ten years have elapsed

since Comrade He Xiangning passed away. The sound of her talks is still ringing in our ears and her articles have remained fresh in our memory. This is because they were the records of her deeds and what she saw and heard in the revolutionary activities which she herself took part in. It is only natural that they are all the more heart-touching and unforgettable. In looking back at the tortuous road that the Chinese revolution had traversed, we are today more deeply convinced that to promote new advances in the Chinese people's revolution and to unite with more of China's nationalists to take part in the revolution, Comrade He Xiangning really made unremitting efforts.

#### Myriads of Thoughts Embodied At the Tip of a Writing Brush

Comrade He Xiangning was talented, possessing an extraordinary artistic gift, and also a revolutionary female artist who enjoyed great prestige. In her early years, she gave me an album of paintings of lions and tigers, the general appearance of which was mighty and true to life. Every time I looked over the paintings, I would feel an upsurge of emotion and be greatly aroused. Comrade He Xiangning's attainments in painting and the ideas and moral values displayed in her paintings were all tied together with her faithful and unyielding revolutionary character and were inseparable from her great breadth of vision and her ardent love for the motherland and the people.

Comrade He Xiangning was good at painting flowers and birds, mountains and rivers and four-footed animals, and she was particularly fond of painting tigers and lions. She placed her thought of rejuvenating the Chinese nation into her painting of waking lion holding up its head. After the founding of new China, at the advanced age of 70, Comrade He Xiangning still exerted great efforts in painting. Working together with other famous Chinese traditional painters, she drew a large-sized painting of flowers and birds, which symbolized the flourishing prosperity of new China. All her paintings required extraordinary painting efforts and were exceptionally pregnant with meaning. After the advanced age of 80, despite her increasingly shaking hands, Comrade He Xiangning still did not forget to draw paintings. From that time on, she gradually liked to paint leafless plum branches. It is said that "with newly blooming flowers nearly topping a thousand, it is simple for the old branch to bear a mighty strain."

Particularly, her artistic career was closely bound up with the fate of the Chinese people. I still clearly remember the grand occasion of the "charity sale paintings exhibition" which created a furor and was sponsored by the famous artists of Shanghai in the Tong Yan Restaurant at the proposal of Comrade He Xiangning. After liberation, in recollecting the events of those years, Generals Chen Minshu, Jiang Guangding, Cai Tingkai, Dai Ji and others still greatly showed their appreciation for help received.

As did some comrades of the Revolutionary Committee of the KMT, I saw Comrade He Xiangning painting with my own eyes. With some strokes of her painting brush, leaf-less branches were formed, and with some dots of her painting brush, red plums would appear on the canvass. However, the impression left on people's minds was always that the myriad of thoughts of this revolutionary

elder were embodied at the tip of her painting brush and that her great, boundless revolutionary aspirations melted into her paintings. It is a pity that the album of paintings which Comrade He Xiangning gave me in her early years was unfortunately lost during the 10 years of chaos. Although the rare treasures were lost, their spirit remained forever. I can still remember the lifelike figure of every lion or tiger. This is the roar of the waking lions which Comrade He Xiangning painted with her courage and uprightness and strength of character at ordinary times. We suffered to the full the discriminatory bullies of the imperialists. Now we can hold our heads high among the countries in the world. Since we have come to this, can we not have especially deep thoughts and feelings?

#### All Patriots Belong to a Big Family

"Tossing about in bed, I am alone under the quilt; I get up to re-read 'Song of a Cypress Boat.'

"The moon is bright and the frost is cold, but where are you now? The shadow is thinning out and the lamp light is withering away--it was late at night.

"It is difficult to meet you even in dreams, and it is greatly regrettable not to have any means to make you return from the grave.

"With sad memories, I am only determined to strive to fulfill your unfinished wish, and when can I discharge this responsibility of mine in the service of the country?"

This is the elegiac poem of Comrade He Xiangning in memory of Mr Liao Zhongkai. It was after the passing away of Dr Sun Yat-sen that Mr Liao Zhongkai laid down his life in enthusiastically carrying out the "three great policies." So, the phrase "fulfilling your unfinished wish" in this poem was the noble ambition Comrade He Xiangning formulated for carrying out the unfinished wish of Dr Sun Yat-sen and Mr Liao Zhongkai.

On 11 March 1925, when Mr Sun Yat-sen was on his deathbed, he repeatedly cried: "Madame Liao Zhongkai." Hearing Dr Sun choking with a stiff tongue, Comrade He Xiangning hastened to ask Madame Sun that they go together to the bed of Dr Sun and said: "Dr Sun, you can rest assured that I vow to support your spirit of reorganizing the KMT, to realize the three great policies and to take good care of Madame Sun. The sea may run dry and the rocks may crumble, but I will never forget my vow. Upon hearing what Comrade He Xiangning said, Dr Sun grasped her hands and said: "Peace...struggle... save China." On the morning of the next day, he departed from the world forever.

On 20 August of the same year, when Liao Zhongkai and his spouse drove up to the door of the headquarters of the KMT Central Committee in Guangzhou, Mr Liao was assassinated. With her own eyes, Comrade He Xiangning saw her beloved revolutionary companion fall down in a pool of his blood.

These two events shook up ideologically and impelled Comrade He Xiangning so deeply and greatly as to be incomparable in her life. "Fulfilling your

"unfinished wish" thus became her ideological pillar in her subsequent revolutionary activities. Therefore, her determination and willpower were also incomparable.

Comrade He Xiangning's "fulfilling your unfinished wish" was aimed at uniting with as many patriots in the KMT as possible and taking the road of cooperating with the Communist Party so as to ensure the realization of the three great policies rather than breaking away from Chiang Kai-shek's KMT in an oversimplified way. After liberation, she was enthusiastic as before in uniting with more of China's nationalists to take part in the work of revolution. Mr Yu Youren, a senior statesman of the KMT in Taiwan, composed a poem in memory of the motherland. Comrade He Xiangning wrote a poem in reply and stated that "all patriots belong to a big family." I remember that in 1959, Premier Zhou Enlai once put forth the question of peaceful liberation of Taiwan. Upon hearing this, I went to inform Comrade He Xiangning of this matter. She said that solving the Taiwan problem by peaceful means had always been her long-cherished wish and held that the Revolutionary Committee of the KMT should make use of the historical relations with the Taiwan KMT and do more work in helping the Communist Party.

Carrying out the behests of his father Liao Zhongkai and his mother He Xiangning, Comrade Liao Chengzhi recently wrote a letter to Mr Chiang Ching-kuo. He said: "A calamity has gone and I am still alive. If we meet again, let us forget previous ill will in our laughter." This is a letter excellent both in writing and meaning with abundantly clear good faith. It is of positive significance in helping the atmosphere on both sides of the Taiwan straits become further relaxed and friendly. The letter sincerely says: "In appraising history and looking forward to the future, we should maintain the principle of the world being for all and take the interests of the country and the nation as the supreme principle rather than stressing the importance of the interests of any parties or individuals." This principle is entirely correct and has met with the warm support of the vast numbers of our compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao and our fellow countrymen residing abroad.

The reason why this letter can take root in the hearts of the people lies in the fact that the return of Taiwan to the embrace of the motherland and the accomplishment of the great cause of national reunification is the common wish of the 1 billion Chinese, including our compatriots in Taiwan, and also the sacred task of this generation of ours. We hope we can join hands and work together with our old friends and colleagues in Taiwan and do our best to accomplish this wish. Dr Sun Yat-sen said: "World trends are vast and mighty. Those who submit will prosper and those who resist shall perish." It is advisable to judge the hour and size up the situation and make a plan for an early return to the embrace of the motherland. You are welcome at any time and under any circumstance.

CSO: 4005/1293

PARTY AND STATE

HUBEI DISCUSSES POLITICAL, LEGAL WORK AT MEETING

HK070318 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 6 Sep 82

[Text] According to this station's reporter, (Xia Jiali), the 10-day-long provincial conference on political and legal work closed today. The conference called on political and legal departments at all levels and all cadres and policemen throughout the province to inspire revolutionary spirit under the leadership of the party and to make new contributions in fulfilling the great tasks put forward at the 12th National Party Congress, making fundamental improvements in the common social practice and public security, and promoting the building of socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization.

Through the conveyance and study of the spirit of the national conference on political and legal work, the provincial conference further defined in the field of guiding ideology the following fundamental political and legal tasks for the new period: Perfect our socialist democracy and legal system; strengthen the people's democratic dictatorship; and protect and promote our socialist modernization which centers on economic construction. As the conference analyzed the province's [passage garbled]

achieved remarkable successes in straightening out public security and particularly in straightening out urban public security. The general [word indistinct] society and public security are gradually taking a turn for the better. However, they have not yet taken a fundamentally favorable turn.

The conference called on political and legal departments at all levels throughout the province to continue upholding the guiding principle of comprehensively improving public security, and to strengthen struggles against counterrevolutionaries, spies, criminals and disastrous accidents in public security. We must continue to firmly grasp cities, areas along the railway lines, vital communications lines, factories, mines and enterprises as key targets for straightening out public security. At the same time, we must energetically straighten out rural public security.

After studying issues concerning inflicting severe punishments on criminals who seriously disrupt the economy, the conference noted: Serious economic crimes within the party are the important expressions of class struggle under the new historical conditions. With regard to those criminals who are guilty

of serious corruption and who seriously take bribes, smuggle goods, traffic in smuggled goods, carry out speculation and swindling activities and embezzle state and collective property, we must quickly and severely punish them according to law by checking all facts.

This provincial conference on political and legal work is the province's largest conference on political and legal work since the founding of the PRC. More than 700 people attended the conference. They included responsible persons of political and legal departments at provincial, prefectoral, municipal and county levels; responsible persons of security units, procuratorial departments and courts from the Hubei provincial military district, the Changjiang Shipping Bureau, the Wuhan Railway Bureau, and all large factories and mines; and responsible persons of departments concerned.

Provincial CPC Committee Secretary Li Wei and Provincial CPC Committee Standing Committee member (Li Jun) spoke at the conference.

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PARTY AND STATE

GUANGXI CONFERENCE ON POLITICAL, LEGAL WORK

HK061015 Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 5 Sep 82

[Text] The Political and Legal Committee under the autonomous Regional CPC Committee held a regional conference on political and legal work in Nanning 30 August-4 September. The conference discussed and studied ways to implement the spirit of the national conference on political and legal work. The conference called on political and legal departments at all levels throughout the region to firmly and unflinchingly implement the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress and to make new contributions to protecting and promoting socialist modernization in our country. During the conference, Shi Qingsheng, secretary of the Political and Legal Committee under the autonomous Regional CPC Committee, conveyed the spirit of the national conference on political and legal work and expressed his views on implementing that spirit. Zhao Maoxun, secretary of the autonomous Regional CPC Committee, attended the conference and delivered a summation speech.

The participating comrades were greatly educated and inspired through their study of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening speech at the 12th CPC National Congress and their study of Comrade Hu Yaobang's report made to the congress on behalf of the CPC Central Committee. After studying the documents concerning the national conference on political and legal work and the speeches by Comrade Peng Zhen and Comrade Peng Chong; the participating comrades achieved a clear understanding of the political and legal tasks for the new period, deepened their understanding of the two functions of our political and legal departments, gained a clearer idea of the targets of dictatorship during the new period and solved a series of basic questions in the field of guiding ideology, such as the question of who constitutes the service targets of our political and legal work during the new period and of who constitutes the targets of dictatorship during the new period.

The conference noted: During the new historical period, the focus of our party's work has already been shifted to socialist modernization, which centers on economic construction. Under the guidance of the four basic principles, our political and legal departments must energetically promote the building of socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization while revolving around the fundamental task of socialist modernization; strengthen and perfect our socialist democracy and our socialist legal system; and strive for a fundamental improvement in public order while striving for

fundamental improvements in the state's financial and economic conditions, in the common practice in our society and in our party's work style.

The conference noted: Political and legal departments are tools of people's democratic dictatorship. As the exploiting class in our country has been eliminated as a class, the great majority of the existing contradictions in our society do not possess the nature of class struggle. Class struggle is no longer the major contradiction in our society. Our political and legal work must keep abreast of this new situation, persist in carrying out democratic functions for the people, truly guarantee and safeguard the people's democratic rights, personal safety and other legal rights, and prevent contradictions among the people from intensifying and transmuting. At the same time, due to domestic factors and international influences, class struggle will continue to exist to a certain degree in our society for a long time, and class struggle can be intensified under certain conditions.

We must persist in waging a protracted struggle against all kinds of hostile elements, uphold the functions of the people's democratic dictatorship and the state dictatorship, and insist on using the Marxist class viewpoint to handle certain social contradictions and social phenomena in our country which possess the nature of class struggle. We must not only avoid repeating the mistake of broadening the scope of class struggle, but must also prevent the emergence of the viewpoint that class struggle has died out.

The conference noted: We must strictly distinguish between and correctly handle the two different types of contradictions, namely, contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and contradictions among the people. We must exercise dictatorship over all kinds of hostile elements disrupting our socialist system and elements seriously jeopardizing public security. Although we must punish in accordance with the law those lawbreakers and criminals belonging to contradictions among the people, we must not handle them as contradictions between ourselves and the enemy.

The conference called on political and legal departments at all levels to conscientiously accept the leadership of the party, to strengthen the building of political and legal ranks, to continue firmly grasping the strengthening of public security, to resolutely hit hard at serious criminal activities in the economic, political and cultural fields, and to guarantee a successful promotion of our four modernizations.

CSO: 4005/1293

PARTY AND STATE

ANHUI PROGRESSES IN DISCIPLINE WORK

OW040933 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 31 Aug 82

[Excerpts] According to ANHUI RIBAO, under the leadership of the Anhui Provincial CPC Committee, party committees at lower levels and discipline inspection departments in Anhui have taken a series of measures and done a great deal of work to implement the guiding principles for inner-party political life, restore and develop the party's fine traditions and work style, rectify unhealthy tendencies, tighten party discipline and enhance the party's fighting capability. As a result, party discipline in Anhui has markedly improved.

Since the promulgation of the guiding principles for inner-party political life and the draft of the revised CPC constitution, party committees and their discipline inspection commissions at all levels in Anhui have adopted a variety of measures to organize party members and cadres throughout the province to seriously study them. They have rotationally trained a large number of backbone party members. They have also given lectures to all party members systematically in order to educate them in the guiding principles for inner-party political life and in the party's fine traditions and work style. This has been the most extensive education in party regulations, rules and spirit conducted in our province.

To strengthen education in party work style, discipline and spirit among party members and insure the implementation of the guiding principles and other related regulations, the Provincial CPC Committee also made a number of specific stipulations in accordance with the guiding principles and other related central documents and in light of Anhui's reality. Among them are a "circular on strictly banning the use of public funds to entertain guests and give presents," an "emergency circular on investigating and correcting the practice of various organizations procuring commodities directly from production units," "supplemental regulations on improving leadership style and expenses of provincial offices," and "provisional regulations on the standard of cadre's housing and housing distribution."

The Provincial CPC Committee and its Discipline Inspection Commission did not tolerate or take a lenient attitude towards a small number of party members and cadre who corrupted party work style and violated party discipline.

Rather, they seriously and sternly dealt with such cases after wrongdoings were verified by serious investigation. They also mobilized vast numbers of cadres and the masses to discuss such cases, especially typical cases.

In an effort to rectify party work style, various localities in Anhui also waged a resolute struggle against grave criminal activities in the economic field in order to firmly eliminate degenerates in our party. At 5 August, the numbers of economic offenses exposed in our province were as follows: 2,246 cases involving individuals seeking illegal profits worth more than 1,000 yuan, 440 cases worth more than 5,000 yuan, 139 cases worth 10,000 yuan and 10 cases worth 100,000 yuan. Among these 837 cases have been closed after due investigation with 683 persons punished by laws and 5,850,000 yuan of illicit money recovered.

CSO: 4005/1293

PARTY AND STATE

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON ISSUE OF 'NATIONAL HEROES'

HK080228 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Sep 82 p 5

[Article by Xiao Tang: "National Heroes and Outstanding Historical Figures"]

[Text] Recently, some comrades have raised the idea of extending the meaning of "national heroes." Judging one's great contributions to the unification and development of his own nationality, and to the development, as well as consolidation, of China's unification as a multinational country, they label Ye Lu A Bao Ji [5102 1774 7093 0202 2894] and Hu Bi Lie [1827 1801 3526] as national heroes. They even go so far to call Wu Shu [0335 5890] and Du Duo [1122 6995] national heroes, due to the former's contribution to the development and expansion of the Jin Kingdom, and the latter's contribution in expanding the Qing Kingdom southward. In his article "On China's Historical Territories and Ancient National Wars," (in Issue No 4 of QIUSHI XUEKAN [SEEKING TRUTH ACADEMIC JOURNAL], 1982) Chen Wutong [7115 2745 2717] raised different ideas.

Chen contends that if we define the concept of "national heroes" by the above-mentioned criterion, all the leaders, intellectuals, militarists and politicians who have made contributions to the development of various nationalities and Chinese history, such as the emperors Qing Shi, Han Wu, Tang Tai Zong and Song Tai Zu can be called national heroes indiscriminately. He held that the title of national hero must have its own specific implication. National heroes must be closely linked with national struggles and only those who have shown their courageous and dauntless spirit, and have made great contributions in the struggle against national oppression and national aggression can be called national heroes. Without national struggles, there are no national heroes. Based on this principle, we can distinguish national heroes from other outstanding historical figures. It is true that Ye Lu A Bao Ji and Hu Bi Lie made great contributions to their own nationalities and to the historical development of the whole Chinese nation, and they are outstanding historical figures who must be fully recognized. However, they are not national heroes. Meanwhile, we may comment also on the struggle of right and wrong between conflicting historical figures such as Hu Bi Lie and Wen Tian Xiang. Hu Bi Lie played a positive role in history by unifying China and by adopting many measures to develop and consolidate the unification of China. Nevertheless, he not only plundered and killed the people of South Song in war, but also implemented many cruel policies of national

discrimination and oppression. Such a war of national oppression was unjust and he cannot be called a national hero. Whereas the struggle waged by the people and army of South Song in resisting aggression was a just one and Wen Tian Xiang, who fought bravely on the battlefield and finally gave his life, was worthy of the title of national hero. Based on the same principle, Wu Shu and Duo Duo cannot be called national heroes either, and only Yue Fei and Shi Ke Fa deserve to be called national heroes.

It must be pointed out that the principle of national equality must be upheld in studying and evaluating national wars and national heroes of different nationalities of China. In evaluating events and figures in national wars, we must adhere to a unified standard and must not treat the Hans with one standard and a minority nationality with another. Due to the fact that most historical documents and works have been written by Hans, the minority nationalities have been depicted as the oppressors, plunderers and invaders of the Hans. The wars waged by minority nationalities have been depicted as excessively cruel and of a plundering and aggressive nature, as if justice was on the side of the Hans and national heroes only emerged from among the Hans. Obviously, this is the prejudice of Han chauvinism which should be thoroughly eliminated and rectified.

CSO: 4005/1293

PARTY AND STATE

'ABNORMAL PHENOMENA' OBSERVED AT CPC CONGRESS

OW052355 (Clandestine) BA YI Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 3 Sep 82

[Text] Two very abnormal phenomena have been observed at the 12th CPC National Congress. First, on the first day of the congress, the appearance of a small coterie was very noticeable among the delegates. Second, although the party Central Committee has instructed that the 12th CPC National Congress be held in a frugal manner, there are still several different grades of treatment for the delegates. If such phenomena, which have incurred extremely unfavorable responses from among the delegates, are not corrected, they certainly will produce harmful effects within the party and among the people.

What we call "small coterie" refers mainly to the group of people who have gradually rallied around Comrade Deng Xiaoping after the third plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Among them are leading comrades of the party Central Committee and its Military Commission and the military regions as well as the principal leading comrades of certain provinces and municipalities. These "closest" comrades can be represented by the 42 who were received by Comrade Deng Xiaoping in three groups on the eve of the congress and on the second day of the congress. This is, in fact, virtually no different from the way Chairman Mao and the gang of four, during the cultural revolution, discussed things at their residences with their confidants. Dividing the delegates into "close" and "not too close" is one of the most disgusting practices left over from the Ninth CPC National Congress. It is totally improper that such a practice is still being followed today.

Secondly, since it has been determined that the congress would be convened according to the principle of frugality; all the delegates should be treated equally. While there are differences in positions and authorities in work among the delegates, treatment for them as delegates to the party congress should not be different. Many privileged delegates, however, are housed in luxurious buildings, provided with sedans for transportation and are feted in Zhongnanhai almost every day.

In recent years, the party Central Committee has repeatedly stressed that everyone is equal before law and truth, and that, within the party, everybody should address each other as comrade. This is to introduce the practice of equality among all the comrades within the party and the country. Apparently the differences in treatment that have been observed at the congress have violated the spirit of what the party Central Committee has said.

PARTY AND STATE

DENG VIOLATES CPC'S DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES

OW052359 (Clandestine) BA YI Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 3 Sep 82

[Text] One cannot help feeling regret that the party's democratic principles have been violated at the 12th CPC National Congress. It was decided at the seventh plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee that the delegates to the 12th CPC National Congress be informed of the letter of appeal from Huang Yongsheng, Li Zuopeng, Qiu Huizuo and 14 other former leaders of our armed forces to the 12th CPC National Congress, as well as the request from Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Jiang Tengjiao and others to the discipline inspection committees of the CPC Central Committee and its Military Commission for an objective and factual review of the case about the so-called "scheme to assassinate Chairman Mao." For this reason, the Secretariat of the 12th CPC National Congress had the letter of appeal and the request duplicated so that each panel of the congress would have a copy. But Comrade Deng Xiaoping ordered that the contents of the above-mentioned letter and request be kept from the delegates. Such a practice has seriously violated the principles for inner-party democratic life.

How can we educate the party members and the people of our country if we talk glibly about socialist democracy and socialist law in our reports but pay no attention to them in actual work, and even such an organ as the Secretariat of the congress also has to yield to the pressure of certain individual and cannot take the lead to foster democracy?

When Chairman Mao Zedong and the gang of four placed themselves above the party Central Committee and party congresses, the broad masses of party members--including even the state chairman, the chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, vice chairmen and general secretary of the party, premier and defense minister--could do nothing but curse in their hearts, it only indicated that there was very little democracy in our party.

To forestall the recurrence of similar incidences in which one single person can dominate the will of the majority, we must, starting now--this is to say, starting from the 12th CPC National Congress--give full play to democracy in the party and settle all major problems, particularly the major historical problems, through extensive discussion and democratic consultations. The so-called "Lin Biao case," which has implicated as many as 10,000 people in the party and in the armed forces, is exactly such a problem left over by history.

CSO: 4005/1293

PARTY AND STATE

NATIONWIDE DISCUSSION OF CONSTITUTION ENDS

OW062346 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0703 GMT 5 Sep 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 5 Sep (XINHUA)--According to XINHUA reporters, the 4-month long nationwide discussion of the draft of the revised constitution ended on 31 August. The 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions as well [as] various central organizations and the PLA general political department have all sent to the secretariat of the constitutional revision committee their reports on how their discussions were conducted as well as their opinions with regard to the revision. Overseas Chinese residing abroad and compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao have also sent in their opinions on the draft of the revised constitution.

It is generally maintained that the draft of the revised constitution not only tallies with our country's actual situation, but has also considered the prospects for development over a relatively long period, and so it reflects the fundamental interests of the people throughout the country. After it is reviewed and adopted by the National People's Congress, the draft certainly will become a relatively perfect cardinal law in our country's legislative history, guiding the people of all nationalities to work hard to build our country into a modern socialist power.

While reviewing the major provisions in the draft of the revised constitution concerning political and economic systems, people in various parts of the country maintained that because the draft, on the basis of comprehensively summarizing the positive and negative experiences gained after the founding of the country over a period of more than 30 years, has included the 4 basic principles in its preamble as the foundation of national construction, and because these 4 basic principles are also found throughout the draft and because it has clearly stated that the Chinese people's basic task from now on is to concentrate their efforts on socialist modernization, it has charted a clear-cut course for the people and has a great significance for ensuring our country's development along the socialist course.

They pointed out that the provisions of the draft regarding the tenure of state leaders, simplification of government organizations, expansion of socialist democracy, respect for the people's democratic rights and strengthening the people's congress system as well as the system under which the premier assumes responsibility for the state council fully reflect the common aspirations and

fundamental interests of the people of all nationalities because not only they conform to the basic Marxist theory on the state, but also tally with the situation of our country.

The broad masses of people also maintained that the provisions in the draft of revised constitution regarding the reinstatement of the state chairmanship and the establishment of the central military council to lead the nation's armed forces mark a further improvement of our country's state system. Many people added that the draft's provision regarding the inseparability of the citizens' rights and obligations will have positive effects on guarding against the recurrence of anarchism and such phenomena, which appeared during the "cultural revolution," as demanding only rights but not fulfilling obligations.

During the nationwide discussion of the draft of the revised constitution, the secretariat of the constitutional revision committee received more than 2,000 letters concerning the people's opinions and suggestions on the draft of the revised constitution. All the letters' writers hope that the draft will be further perfected, and that supervision over the constitution will be strengthened so that the constitution can be properly implemented.

CSO: 4005/1299

## PARTY AND STATE

### NEED TO FURTHER IMPROVE PARTY'S WORK STYLE EMPHASIZED

Beijing SHIDAI DE BAOGAO [REPORT OF THE TIMES] in Chinese No 5, 1982 pp 89-90

[Article by Lu Chuntian [4150 4783 3944]: "Strive for Greater Success in Rectifying the Party's Work Style"]

[Text] In 1982, an important task facing the entire party is to struggle against various unhealthy tendencies which are bound to have a corrosive effect on its organization and to strive for greater success in rectifying the party's work style. A Marxist proletarian political party must have not only the political line, principles and policies which represent the proletarian interests, but also an excellent style of work which is an embodiment of the proletarian world outlook, ideology and code of ethics. If the party does not have an excellent style of work, it will find it impossible to put its correct line, principles and policies truly into effect. This is why, since its founding, our party has attached very great importance to the development of its political ideology and work style. Our party is unsurpassed by other political parties in terms of its ability to achieve unity in forging close ties with the masses, the indomitable spirit it has displayed in struggle, selfless devotion of its members to the public interest, an embodiment of their noble quality, and their exemplary conduct which reflects their willingness to make themselves the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts. This is the source of strength which has made our party unbeatable and invincible in confrontation with enemies.

Comrade Chen Yun said: "The problem concerning our ruling party's work style is a problem that will vitally effect its very existence." Since our party gained the status as the ruling party, its work style has become a matter of special significance. Whether its work style is good or bad not only will have a decisive effect on its destiny and future but also will affect the civilian lifestyle, the social atmosphere, the consolidation of the political power now under its leadership, and the outcome of our socialist construction program. The 10 years of turmoil brought tremendous damage to our party and country of which our party's work style bore the brunt. Although our party has made progress in rectifying its work style, it remains far from satisfactory. It can be said that no noticeable changes have been made in this direction. For example, such unhealthy practices by some of our party members as seeking personal connections for selfish purposes, propensity for backdoor dealings, obsession with special privileges, abuse of authority for the benefit of one's children, worshiping everything foreign and fawning on foreigners at the expense of our personal and national dignity still need to be eliminated.

Particularly serious is the fact that some Communist Party members including highly responsible cadres have even gone so far as to involve themselves in smuggling, black marketing activities, embezzlement, bribery, speculation and other unlawful and criminal activities. As a result, they have converted a large amount of state and collective property into their private ownership. These people have virtually disqualified themselves to be called Communist Party members. Confronted with this situation, some of our party organizations and leading bodies did not consider this a matter of serious nature, toward which they have adopted a permissible, indifferent and carefree attitude. Some have even gone so far as to appease law-breakers and discipline-breachers by covering them up and by setting up one obstacle after another to the prosecution of certain particular cases. Although some did want to do something about it, they have been handicapped by a lack of guts, courage and feasible strategies. If this situation is allowed to continue, it is certain that our party will be in danger of changing its color through a process of peaceful evolution as more and more party members will become susceptible to corruption and temptation for decadent ways of living, and begin to show no interest in implementing the party's correct line, principles and policies. No party member faithful to party character and with a sense of responsibility can respond to this problem that threatens the very existence of the party with an apathetic attitude.

Before nationwide liberation, Comrade Mao Zedong discussed the problem of how to resist bourgeois attacks with "sugar-coated bullets," saying: "There may be some communists who were not conquered by enemies with guns and were worthy of the name of heroes for standing up to these enemies, but who cannot withstand sugar-coated bullets. They will be defeated by such bullets. We must guard against such a situation." Does this practical danger still exist today? Numerous facts can provide an answer to this question, indicating that this danger still exists. Although exploiters as a class have disappeared from our country, the class struggle still continues to exist and sometimes will even become acute. This means that the struggle between the corrosive influence and those who oppose it will not stop. At the same time, our implementation of an open door economic policy will give foreign decadent bourgeois ideologies and cultures a chance to invade our country. For this reason, we cannot rule out this possibility that those Communist Party members who joined the revolution long ago and subsequently survived tests of the protracted revolutionary struggle, and who were conquered neither by enemies with guns in battles nor threats of the "gang of four" may fall victim to the unhealthy bourgeois ideas or be conquered by the bourgeoisie armed with "sugar-coated bullets," during the current struggle between the corrosive influence and those who oppose it. The alternative in preventing this threat is to strengthen the training of party members in party character and to foster a sound style of work for our party. What we fear most is not the corrosive bourgeois influence or attacks by external enemies, but the corruption of our party itself. Our middle level and senior party cadres can play a pivotal role in strengthening the organization of the party and in improving its structure. As long as they behave themselves well as firm, sober-minded and hopeful Marxists, they will be able to lead our party to advance in the correct direction, and greatly strengthen its fighting power. In the end, they will be able to foil any attempt by hostile forces to corrupt and topple our party.

To rectify the party's work style in a more fundamental way, we must pick up the weapon of criticism and self-criticism and actively develop the ideological struggle within the framework of the party. Once an unhealthy tendency takes shape, it will tend to become stubborn and cannot be easily overcome unless by necessary struggles. During the past several years, some unhealthy tendencies have emerged to affect our party and still need to be eliminated. The fact that such tendencies have become widespread in some units does not stem from the reason that they did not know what is right and what is wrong, but that few have ever dared to challenge them. Efforts must be made to change this situation in the future. We must struggle against all demoralization tendencies inclined to destroy our party and undermine its prestige as well as those liberalism-oriented, spineless and carefree elements inclined to protect such tendencies. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Opposition and struggle between ideas of different kinds constantly occur within the party. This is a reflection within the party of contradictions between classes, and between the new and the old in society. If there were no contradictions in the party and no ideological struggles to resolve them, the party's life would come to an end." By broadening the cruel struggle, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" tortured cadres and people for no reason at all. As a result, some innocent cadres were thrown out of office or were even tortured to death. This sad and painful memory remains fresh to some comrades who would panic at the mere mention of the term "struggle" and who still have misgivings with regard to the ideological struggle. But under no circumstances should we give up criticism and ideological struggles because we once suffered from the cruel struggle carried out by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." If we do, our party will end up losing its fighting power and ability to save those cadres who have made relatively serious mistakes but still can be educated, and to defeat offensives on the ideological front, launched by the bourgeoisie. In the course of the ideological struggle developed by our party, we must prevent some people from labeling and wielding the stick against others, concentrate on implementing the party's policies and analyze problems in concrete terms. But what deserves our great attention is a liberalization tendency to discourage people from criticizing and denouncing those who should be criticized and denounced. At present, we do see a vulgar practice prevail over our party, which emphasizes the need for saving face and for building personal relationships for selfish purposes. Although some comrades are known for their near-perfect performances, they never want to criticize mistakes committed by others. For fear of offending others, they never want to say a word about the unhealthy tendencies. Nor are they willing to struggle against any violators of the party's interests. But they have never hesitated to sacrifice the party's principles in the name of seeking the so-called "unity." These people have actually played a role in providing a "protective umbrella" for various unhealthy tendencies. It goes without saying that whichever unit is dominated by such people will find it difficult to make justice prevail over evil force, and will place its party branch in danger of being converted into a haven for a few speculators who were allowed to join the party earlier. This is why we consider it necessary to carry on the ideological struggle while resolutely rejecting the approach by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" to confuse friend with foe. It can be said that the party's workstyle will stand no chance of being rectified, if we fail to carry out the necessary ideological struggle in which the proletarian ideology can be used to defeat its bourgeois counterpart and

correct ideas can be used to defeat incorrect ideas. As for those few people found guilty of engaging in unlawful and criminal activities in the economic field, they should not be allowed to escape punishment in accordance with the provisions of party discipline and state laws. Special efforts must be made to consolidate those party organizations which have been found rotten to the core.

Ours is a party armed with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Since we could destroy the old world and build a new world, we can certainly cleanse our own bodies. During the past few months, thanks to determination and resolute measures displayed and adopted by the party Central Committee to integrate the rectification of the party's work style with the development of our spiritual civilization, the campaign launched for this purpose has gained momentum and produced relatively good results. This proves that the argument that people have lost confidence in rectifying the party's work style is unfounded. Let us rally around the party Central Committee and join one another in striving for greater success in rectifying the party's work style this year!

9574

CSO: 4005/1084

PARTY AND STATE

ARTICLES REVIEW POLICY TOWARD INTELLECTUALS

Investigation of Intellectuals' Problems

Guangzhou YANGCHENG WANBAO in Chinese 15 Jun 82 p 1

[Article: "Do a Good Job of Investigating Intellectual Work; Central Committee Organization Department Sends Out Investigating Teams to Understand Situation, Danger of a Few Units Only Going Through the Motions Should be Watched"]

[Text] According to a report in today's RENMIN RIBAO, recently the Central Committee's Organization, Propaganda, and United Front Departments and the State Science Committee and the Labor Personnel Department has sent out five investigating teams to provinces, cities and autonomous regions to look into the situations in these places with regard to investigation of intellectuals work. The investigating teams began work at the end of May and the beginning of June.

Beginning in March of this year, according to a communique from the CCP Central Committee all areas in the country began investigation of intellectuals work. Party committees at all levels regard this work very highly and in many provinces, cities and autonomous regions leadership comrades have personally started work and some have even led investigating teams down to the grassroots level, had heart-to-heart talks with intellectuals, held conferences and directly resolved situations and remaining problems in intellectuals work. Now departments' investigations of intellectuals work is at the important stage of researching and emphasizing the resolution of problems. Many localities and departments are in the process of collecting questions which have been discovered during investigation and discriminating the circumstances. They are resolving those that they can resolve themselves and for those which are hard to resolve for the time being, they are drafting feasible suggestions and doing ideological work on the personnel involved. However, there are a few units which are in danger of treating this as a mere formality and only going through the motions.

Party Committee Corrects Wrongs

Guangzhou YANGCHENG WANBAO in Chinese 15 Jun 82 p 1

[Article: "Haizhu Ward Party Committee Adopts Method of Investigation and Implementation To Resolve a Group of 'Old' Questions for Intellectuals"]

[Text] The Guangzhou City, Haizhu Ward CCP Committee is concentrating on investigating the implementation of policy toward intellectuals in the ward and

has adopted a method of both investigating and implementing to resolve quickly a group of questions which have gone unresolved for a long time.

Since April of this year, an investigating team led by the Haizhu Ward deputy secretary, together with the grassroots level units concerned, through conferences, individual heart-to-heart talks and home visits, heard directly the complaints of over 500 middle level medical and engineering technicians and teachers (over 90 percent of the population). They held 7 meetings by category, investigated questions one by one and then the investigating team directly co-ordinated the handling of questions which had encountered major obstacles, and resolved them one by one. A minority of intellectuals protested their individual political verdicts, for though they had appealed many times, the unit concerned stuck by its original decision due to the influence of "leftist" thinking and they were never cleared. The investigating team and the unit concerned, together, researched one by one the background materials on these comrades, reached a consensus on the matter and changed the original inappropriate political verdict. There was a teacher who had had 2.19 yuan deducted from her pay for no reason since the "Cultural Revolution." She had protested many times, but the department concerned just kept dragging it along unresolved. Recently, through the intervention of the ward investigating team, the question was resolved for her in a few hours. In addition to this, they also implemented policy with regard to some cadres whose wages had had deductions from the time of the "Cultural Revolution"; they thoroughly eliminated some untrue materials which had been placed in the dossiers of personnel concerned during the various movements.

In 2 short months the investigating team has resolved or is resolving questions raised by over 30 intellectuals. There was a doctor who said that some property which had been inventoried and confiscated during the "Cultural Revolution" had never been restored and the department concerned had never investigated and dealt with the matter. The investigating team gave instructions that all subordinate units in the ward were to conduct a conscientious investigation of this question and they discovered 10 similar cases. These questions are now receiving appropriate attention. A technician who not long ago was transferred to the Haizhu Ward City Building Bureau was wrongly sentenced over 20 years ago, but after the courts cleared him, his original unit never went through the procedures to restore his cadre and wage benefits. Although the Ward City Building Bureau had no direct responsibility they assumed an attitude of responsibility and appointed someone to resolve the issue in connection with the original unit.

8226  
CSO: 4005/982

PARTY AND STATE

COMMENTARY ON LEARNING FROM VETERAN PARTY MEMBERS

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 27 Jun 82 p 1

[Commentary: "Respect Old Party Members, Emulate Old Party Members"]

[Text] On the eve of the 61st anniversary of the founding of the CCP, the Guangdong CCP Committee invited 40 old party members not withdrawn from production to come to Guangzhou for a meeting to look back on history, recall martyrs and look forward to the future. This embodies fully the love and concern of the party for old party members from rural areas and at the same time adds a very significant activity to the commemoration of "1 July" and provides lively teaching material for our revolutionary traditions and communist education of party members. With the greatest respect we here extend our cordial greetings to the old party members who are participating in this conference and to the old party members who could not attend.

Guangdong was one of the earliest provinces to launch revolutionary activity after the founding of the CCP. There are now still 1,700 old party members not withdrawn from production in the rural areas of the province. They entered the Chinese Communist Party in the three different revolutionary periods of the first and second revolutionary wars and the war of resistance against Japan. The 40 old comrades who are participating in this conference are representatives of the 1,700 old party members. Whether in the years of revolutionary war or in the period of socialist revolution and construction, these old comrades have been severely tested and tempered and have made valuable contributions for the party and the people. Before the founding of the country, in extremely difficult times and extremely adverse surroundings, they risked their lives, shed blood and tears, fought bravely and did not fear sacrifice for the revolution. After the founding of the country, in the rural areas they kept up the struggle, led the masses to clean out the bandits and oppose local tyrants, to carry out land reform, to walk the road of cooperativization, to build an enterprise through hard work and never give up the struggle to change the backward situation in the rural areas. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee they have regained their youthful vigor, resolutely upheld the party's line, principles and policies, carried on the party's excellent traditions and work style, and maintained the purity of the communism of Communist Party members. In these old party members we can see that noble character whose "contributions to the party and people are great, but whose demands on the party and people are few," which does not claim credit for itself, is not arrogant, and wholeheartedly serves the revolution and the people; that strong faith which remembers

the aim of the struggle, and fights to the end for communism; that excellent work style which fights hard, is honest in performing official duties, is willing to bear the burden of office and is intimately concerned for the masses.

The Chinese Communist Party members of our province should conscientiously emulate the communist ideology and character of these old party members and strive to uphold the purity of communism. Party organizations at all levels should use all means to publicize their revolutionary spirit, mobilize and organize the broad party membership to emulate their achievements and call on everyone loyally to keep their oath of allegiance to the party, wholeheartedly to serve the people and struggle all their lives for communism like these old party members.

We wish old party member comrades health and long life and we hope that in their remaining years these old party members will pass on to new party members and the young generation the party's excellent traditions and work style, will make a new contribution to training revolutionary successors and so there will be people to carry on the party's enterprise.

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CSO: 4005/982

PARTY AND STATE

CADRES' PRACTICE OF BUILDING RESIDENCES ON FARMLAND CONDEMNED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Sun Xupei [1327 2485 1014]: "The Widespread Practice of Construction of Residences in Funan"]

[Text] In certain counties in the Fuyang District of Anhui the cadres' practice of building residences is very widespread. The newcomer, Funan County, ended up in front. It ranks first in the district for having the most rapid rate of development, largest quantity, highest standards and the greatest amount of occupied land.

Standing on the roof of the county CCP committee's office building and looking toward the north and south, the fields can be seen to alternate red and green. Twenty or 30 fine red brick residences are scattered here and there. Most of them have principal rooms, side rooms, passageways and an enclosing wall. They have courtyards for cultivating flowers and vegetables that exceed the building area by two or three-fold. They also have old fashioned gateway arches. In some residences there are also buildings of two or more stories which are of fine construction. Some windows have four layers: steel windows, steel nets, screen windows and glass panes. They are capable of keeping out thieves, sparrows, mosquitoes and the wind.

According to surveys, in the country town of Funan, in the 2 years since the publication of the "Guiding Principles," 153 residences have been built. Most of these have been built for cadres, including 4 houses for the deputy secretaries of the county CCP committee and deputy Hasien magistrates, 9 houses for leading comrades in ministries, committees and offices, and 37 houses for leading cadres at the division and bureau level. There were also some built for ordinary cadres. In addition, there were also ordinary yet uncommon workers such as the driver in the county general unit for harnessing the Huai River, who built a 3-story building (13 rooms) that served concurrently as a hotel (with 19 beds) and as a restaurant. Before long, 16 newly built residences charged rent and opened up hotels. This included two houses of cadres at the level of district CCP committee secretary and above and five houses of cadres who were level one section chiefs.

In view of the normal income of those who built private residences, for the most part they cannot afford to build these residences, which are worth between

several thousand yuan and 10,000 or 20,000 yuan. In Huanggang District there is the case of a culture and education secretary. The wage income of both husband and wife is only 116 yuan. There are 8 family members, yet they were able to buy land over 40 li outside of the county town to build a 7-room house. Based on preliminary investigations, problems of varying degrees exist among those who build private residences. The sources of their capital funds and materials frequently depend on the following channels. First, they take advantage of the power of their position to take public materials that are used in building storehouses, workshops and staff and worker dormitories for building private residences. Buildings of the Grain Bureau and other agencies are damaged, yet cadres' houses are the most numerous and most beautiful. The station head of the grain supply center in the outskirts of town, Zhao Xiyong [6392 6007 3057], lives in a public 10-room house, yet he built a residence that has 5 large rooms. In old and new houses there are still piles of several cubic meters of numbered timber, nine sacks of hemp, bricks, logs, bamboo poles, reinforcing bars, etc., all of which are preparatory for the continued building of residences. Second, they use graft and embezzlement. In the flour mill there is a petroleum products storeman who used the method of decreasing the production of oil and embezzled money from over 10,000 jin of vegetable seed oil to build an attractive residence. Third, they make use of public vehicles without payment to transport materials. They take advantage of their positions to transfer labor.

Of these residences, 123 are built on good fertile farmland. On the average, each household has half a mu of cultivated land. In the Grain Bureau there is a deputy bureau director who did not build a residence. He first built a surrounding wall which enclosed 1.54 mu of cultivated land. As far as land for building residences is concerned, 14 residences received endorsement from the Urban Construction Bureau (also illegal) and the rest used illegitimate methods. Through force or trickery, they secured land from the five production brigades in the nearby Zhang, Qian, Ni and Guai farms and from the Leng stockade. They used methods such as inviting guests to eat and drink, providing work for the children of local cadres and providing food to fix the selling of grain in order to buy land cheaply. In the past 3 years, in the vicinity of the county town, cultivated land has decreased by 2,110 mu, of which over 540 mu has been used to build private dwellings. The complaints of the masses have been strong. An older man in the Zhang estate walked half a li with the provincial CCP committee's Commission on the Inspection of Discipline to visit the owner of the residences. They scolded them saying: "Our land has all been sold to local officials by cadres. Later on you will have nothing to eat."

Based on investigation, the building of residences in Funan County is widespread and difficult to rectify. It is related to the factionalism left over from the "Great Cultural Revolution" that was not thoroughly eradicated. According to statistics, there are 17 leaders from the rebel group who today still hold leading positions as commune secretaries and above. Quite a few of them move between the upper and lower levels and engage in many unsound and evil practices. During the "Cultural Revolution" although in the Fuyang District the No 1 rebel leader, member of the former standing committee of the Fuyang District CCP Committee and secretary of the Funan County CCP Committee, Nie so and so had been exposed, removed from office and transferred to another county to assume the position of commune deputy director, nevertheless, he still had quite an in-

fluence over Funan. Several people willingly helped him to build a residence to the north of the town. (He originally had a home of 4 rooms, now he had one built with 7 rooms covering 144 square meters.) Before long, in collusion with 11 others, he bought almost 9 mu of land preparatory to building another new residence.

With the assistance and support of work teams from the provincial CCP committee, during the middle of April the Funan County CCP Committee organized the standing committee of the County People's Congress, the county government and other concerned leading cadres to take a look around the 10 or so residences. Afterwards they also dispatched people to make investigations. At present, the practice of building residences has been checked, but work in investigation and dealing with this matter has been very slow. Some leading comrades have an overwhelming fear of difficulty. Their measures are ineffective and they have a wait-and-see attitude. The masses informed the authorities of these problems, and 10 or more of these typical residences were investigated with the result that only 3 houses were said to be problems. Many people contended that money had been borrowed from friends and relatives in the country and that was that. However, when the work team of the local CCP committee carried out investigations in the countryside, the peasants said: Our circumstances have just begun to improve, where could we get so much money to lend to people in the cities to build homes? That is ridiculous.

Recently, the Anhui Provincial CCP Committee instructed the Fuyang Local CCP Committee and the Funan County CCP Committee to conscientiously investigate and deal with this problem. As their first step they demanded that land that had not yet been developed or land on which a foundation had already been layed be returned immediately to the peasants for cultivation. At the same time they decided to dispatch a joint fact finding group composed of leaders from the provincial Commission for the Inspection of Discipline, the standing committee of the Provincial People's Congress, the Procuratorate, the Planning Commission, the Construction Commission, the Finance Department and other units. On the basis of investigating and studying the situation, they earnestly helped the Funan County CCP Committee deal with this problem.

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PARTY AND STATE

COMMENTS ON BIOGRAPHY OF TAN SITONG

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO 6 Jul 82 p 5

[Article by Wang Junyi [3769 0193 5030]: "On 'Tan Sitong: Biography and Commentary'"]

[Text] Tan Sitong was a patriotic thinker in modern Chinese history. As a famous representative of the radicals of the 1889 Reform Movement and as a pioneering thinker of the bourgeois democratic revolution, he has received attention and has been a subject of research. A new research work has been published recently by the Shanghai Publishing House--Deng Tanzhou's [6772 3389 3166] "Tan Sitong: Biography and Commentary" (hereinafter "Biography and Commentary"). Compared with other research works on Tan Sitong, this book has a more solid collection of historical materials, a more thorough-going and systematic treatment of the subject matter and more independent ideas. It is a good reference for the study of Tan Sitong.

The author has collected much hard-to-find firsthand materials for the book which is the result of many years of study and thinking. The book gives a systematic analysis and comprehensive commentary on Tan's life and thinking. It is both a biography and a commentary. Much of the book is devoted to a detailed account of Tan's life, beginning from his family and his youth through the period of the 1889 Reform and ending with his heroic death. Many factual errors contained in other biographical and chronological accounts on Tan have been clarified. There are special chapters on the social background and theoretical origins of Tan's thinking. There are many commentaries on Tan's philosophical, social, political, and literary thought. Looking into his philosophical thought, the book deals with the basic materialist tendency of his natural outlook, his vigorous dialectics, and his historical views on development and change. It also points out how, in the theory of knowledge, he was stifled by the Buddhist theology and was finally converted to idealism. The book shows how the turbulent and complicated currents of society existing at the end of the 19th century were reflected in Tan's complex philosophical thought, the book points out that Tan's thought reflected the pulses of the times more than the other thinkers of his time. The author discusses at length Tan's democratic ideas and revolutionary thoughts, pointing out that although he joined the 1889 Reform Movement, his political thought went beyond reformism so that he became a pioneer of the bourgeois revolution. Hitherto, research works on Tan Sitong have been mostly specialized commentaries on par-

ticular subjects; few books are like "Biography and Commentary" which, combining history and commentary, treats Tan's thoughts comprehensively and systematically. Therefore the publication of this book, filling a need in this respect, has advanced research on Tan.

The book has absorbed and digested the findings of other books on Tan but has not been limited by them. It has made bold attempts to form new ideas and has expressed the author's independent thinking in commentaries or in the footnotes on controversial issues. For example, some scholars have argued that Tan in his early period had a conservative political thinking but a materialistic outlook and that around the time of the 1889 Reform he had become a political radical but a philosophical idealist. "Biography and Commentary" holds that Tan's philosophical views and his political thought should not be separated. The two are an integral whole. His philosophical views were the theoretical basis of his political reforms. His philosophical views were basically materialistic although they suffered severely from idealist impurities. His political thoughts became increasingly radical although they were not thorough-going. Such complexities in his thought accurately reflected the political weakness and theoretical compromise of the bourgeoisie of which he was a representative.

Based on historical facts, the book questions some widely held views and materials contained in other studies on Tan. For example, "Liu Ai Si" (Six Tragic Poems) and "Biography of Tan Sitong" written by Kang Youwei [1660 0645 3634] and Liang Qichao [2733 0796 6389], the earliest existing biography works on Tan Sitong, have long become important source materials for studies on Tan's life and thinking. But these works, according to "Biography and Commentary," describe Tan as a faithful disciple of Kang Youwei and diehard royalist, and therefore have taken away the brilliance of Tan's democratic revolutionary thought, and covered up Tan's difference with Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao in political views. In misrepresenting Tan's image, Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao aimed at exploiting people's respect for Tan for the benefit of their royalist cause. So one must exercise discretion when using "Liu Ai Si" and "Biography of Tan Sitong" as historical materials. Another example: It is said that Tan wrote a "Farewell Note" to Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao on the eve of his death, a note often quoted as dependable historical material. The author of "Biography and Commentary," however, with the help of an account as narrated by Wang Zhao [3769 3564] who went into exile in Japan at the same time as Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao, has found that the "Farewell Note" is permeated with royalist tones characteristic of Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao, but very alien to the mainstream of Tan's thinking and to his style. So the author concludes that "Note" is a forgery by Kang Youwei and Liang Zichao. The argument is based on an analysis of factual material and is worth considering.

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PARTY AND STATE

OUTSTANDING PEOPLE SHOULD BE RESPECTED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO 8 Jul 82 p 8

[Article by Lei Ke [7191 0344]: "The Emergence of Outstanding People"]

[Text] A poem by Zhao Yi [6392 5065] of the Qing Dynasty says: "Outstanding people emerge in each generation, enjoying the praise of the land for hundreds of years." The poem referred to people in the literary world, but in the socialist age outstanding people emerge in an endless stream from all walks of life--some devote themselves wholeheartedly to work, some think single-mindedly of the public good, some live an upright and honest life, some sacrifice their lives to duty. For our age, outstanding people include not only those great men and women who stand at the forefront of the times, and those geniuses who have an insight into the mysteries of the universe, but also those people who, without making a showy display of it, are willing to devote more of their time and effort to the great cause of mankind.

But the problem is some of the outstanding people, once they have emerged, are treated very fairly. This is found in the past, and is still unavoidable in the present. As noted by some people, progressive people, whether they are recognized as outstanding or not, are not popular in certain places. Because you strive hard and are anxious to get ahead, although overdoing it a bit sometimes, you are described as bent on "following the fashion" and "seeking publicity." Because you are conscientious about work, scrupulous about following rules and regulations and dare to resist crooked ways and dishonest practices, you are accused of "minding other's business." Because you compete with others to be a progressive and suffer a setback, they refuse to give you sympathy and support and even blame you for having "asked for it." Some progressive people, even after being recognized as exemplary people, still cannot escape such mocking comments as: "He has a personal design in wanting to become a progressive" or "He has a mixed motive in wanting to become a model." There are even people who use all kinds of "legitimate" reasons to obstruct progressive people, oppress them, impede their work, make it difficult for them to do anything.

Lu Xun had this to say on the subject: "Whenever Chinese say or do something, if it is somewhat contrary to the inherited customs, they must succeed in one somersault in order to have a place in the sun or to be praised with the warmth of a hot iron. Otherwise, they will not escape the crime of wanting to do

something new and different, or the fate of being silenced, or the accusation that they have committed the greatest and most unforgivable treason and heresy." Our models and pacesetters suffer from the same fate. Being progressives, they naturally run "contrary to inherited customs," breaking the bounds of the old ideology and achieving a state of knowledge and consciousness beyond the reach of ordinary people. This is why they have invited various criticisms and become unpopular in certain quarters. And this is precisely why we must view progressive people in a true perspective and support them wholeheartedly. It is important to be alert and good at discovering the heroes, the outstanding and progressive people; it is equally important to help them establish themselves and move forward. Today, under new historical conditions, since we want to achieve our socialist modernization and build both our material and spiritual civilizations, we rely even more on the broad masses of the people, on the continuing emergence of outstanding people from among them, who will bring a new life, a new outlook, a new vigor to the whole ranks of the laborers and to all society. This is why our party and government have so many times emphasized the importance of setting up people as progressive pacesetters so that everybody can learn from them. To be really able to do this, we need to foster such a general consensus first: He who is progressive deserves to be honored and can justly feel so; he who praises and learns from progressive people deserves to be honored and can justly feel so; and he who does the contrary should be criticized and condemned by society. This will allow our models and our progressive people more space and more freedom to put their abilities and talents to work in the fullest way.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### PENG ZHEN TALKS ABOUT DRAFT REVISED CONSTITUTION

Beijing LIAOWANG [OBSERVATION POST] in Chinese No 5, 1982 pp 5-7

[Article by Zeng Jianhui [2582 1696 1798] and Xu Minhe [1776 3046 0735]:

[Text] Nearly 33 years have elapsed since the founding of the PRC. This part of the history of the Chinese people's glorious struggles is truthfully reflected in the draft revised constitution of the PRC which was published the other day.

Apart from the Common Program, a kind of provisional constitution, adopted in September 1949 by the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, we had three different constitutions in a little over 30 years. They are the 1954 constitution, that of 1975 and that of 1978. Now, we are going to have another new constitution. The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress voted on 26 April to release the draft revised constitution for study and comments by the people of all the nationalities of the whole country.

This time the constitution is revised to incorporate in the fundamental law of the state the achievements and experiences of the people of all the nationalities in the socialist revolution and construction since the founding of the PRC, especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee elected in 1978. These revisions are attracting worldwide attention because they affect the destiny of the people of the whole country.

In that case, how were the draft revisions of the constitution enacted? What are the most outstanding features of this draft revised constitution as compared to the previous three constitutions? How could discussion of this draft revised constitution by the whole people be assured of complete success?

With these in mind, your reporters asked Comrade Peng Zhen, vice chairman of the Standing Committee, the National People's congress, and vice chairman of the Committee on Constitutional Revisions, to comment on these problems for publication.

Comrade Peng Zhen received your reporters at his residence on 30 April, the third day of the publication of draft revised constitution. Comrade Peng Zhen

is a senior proletarian revolutionary of our party. Since assuming in 1979 such important party and government positions as a member of the 11th CCP Central Committee Politburo and vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, he has made available to the party and the people of the whole country his rich experience and wisdom, and worked enthusiastically with them to weather the turbulent days devoted to bringing order out of chaos. As chairman of the Judicial Committee under the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and secretary of the Political and Legal Committee of the CCP Central Committee, he has contributed heavily toward promoting socialist democracy and improving the socialist legal system as he guided the enactment of a series of laws and regulations.

Comrade Peng Zhen participated all the way through the drafting and enactment of our first constitution--the constitution of 1954. The draft revised constitution just published was prepared under his guidance.

When we reached his residence, Comrade Peng Zhen welcomed us warmly to his living room. He smiled as we explained to him the purposes of our visit. "This is an informal discussion," he said. "The publication of the draft revised constitution is an important event which is worth discussing." He began by telling us the responses he has received since the publication of the draft revised constitution. Citing the comments at home and abroad on this draft revision, he said some believe "it has epoch-making implications," some call it "a milestone," some regard it as "a symposium of a series of current policies," while others think it "has wiped out all the remnants of the Cultural Revolution."....He continued by concluding that "these responses demonstrate that the people at home and abroad regard this draft revised constitution as a summary of what we had achieved in more than 30 years of struggle, a summary of the lessons we have drawn from both positive and negative experiences. Many of the provisions of this draft revision would not be included if not for the lessons we have drawn from the "Great Cultural Revolution." This draft revised constitution has solidified the achievements and experiences of our struggles over a long period of time which we set down in the form of a fundamental law. It seems this draft revised constitution of ours will be able to hold water. Of course we must let the people of the whole country decide whether the draft is good or bad and whether any more revisions are required."

"What are the outstanding features of this draft revision?" Comrade Peng Zhen went on to say: "This is to say, it is based on the actual conditions in China, a country with 1 billion people scattered over 9.6 million square kilometers of land plus territorial waters, which has not developed evenly due to local differences in politics, economy, culture and custom. We must proceed from this reality to draw our lessons from our own history and the experiences of other countries--to absorb all the beneficial matters which agree with our existing conditions and meet our current needs."

Comrade Peng Zhen pointed out: "This draft revised constitution is guided by one basic principle: to work for the greatest good for the greatest majority of people. That is what we all must work for. The eight issues which I

presented to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress are focused on this basic principle."

He said: "While the constitution must proceed mainly from the existing conditions, it must also take the future into account. First, put primary emphasis on reality, and secondly, gear to the needs of the future. The constitution must remain stable for a period of time because it is the foundation of the socialist democracy and legal system. The foundation must not be disturbed at will. Can we disturb the foundation of the Great Hall of the People? Can we disturb the foundation of this house where we talk? If we did, we would not be able to sit here. Consequently, we must work for the stability of the constitution."

Proceeding from the greatest good for the greatest majority of people, the draft revised constitution sets in motion four fundamental principles; provides that the primary task of the Chinese people in this new historical era is to work for the socialist modernizations; lays down new rules for improving the socialist economic and political systems; brings together the socialist democracy and the socialist legal system; places special emphasis on effective protection of the rights and interests of the minority nationalities; sets down a series of guidelines for the development of the socialist culture; ...All these are for the greatest good of the greatest majority of people.

The draft revised constitution has taken a big step forward to promote democracy and establish a better system of law. Comrade Peng Zhen said: "The revision of the constitution this time has brought the people's democracy into full play--setting down realistic and specific provisions with regard to the basic rights of our citizens, strengthening and developing the system of the people's congresses, devising rational division of power of the organs of state...."

"The revision of the constitution this time," continued Comrade Peng Zhen, "has brought democracy into full play. The revision was done under the guidance of the Party Central Committee but based on the opinions of everybody and participated in by everybody. The entire revision process represents the unity of the views of the party and the people.

It took a year and half to solicit the opinions of all circles concerned and work out the draft revised constitution which has just been published. The Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress voted in September 1980 to establish a committee on the revision of the constitution of the People's Republic of China to revise the 1978 constitution. Ye Jianying was elected the chairman of the constitution revision committee, while Song Qingling and Peng Zhen were elected its vice chairmen. Later, the constitution revision committee set up a secretariat with Hu Qiaomu as the secretary general.

Before it began drafting the revision, the Secretariat gathered together the opinions of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, the ministries and agencies of the State Council, the People's Liberation Army, the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, the various democratic parties

and groups, various people's organizations, the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. It studied the proposals on constitutional revisions introduced by the delegates to the National People's Congress and the suggestions on constitutional revision advanced by the masses. It held more than 10 discussion seminars attended by jurisprudence, political science and economics scholars of both Beijing and other areas, and experts engaged in these particular fields of work. It also studied the three constitutions and related documents of new China, the constitutions of old China, as well as the current and past constitutions of other countries. This is the background against which the Secretariat prepared the draft revision of the constitution.

The exploratory text of the draft revised constitution completed in February 1982 was based on the opinions of all the localities, departments and groups of the whole country which it had sorted out. Before the Politburo approved the exploratory text in principle, it was carefully examined and amended by the CCP Central Committee Secretariat. At the time when the Second Plenary Session of the Constitution Revision Committee deliberated on this exploratory text, the leading organs of the departments of the CCP Central Committee and the armed forces, as well as those of the several provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions also discussed it and recommended many changes. Having examined carefully all these opinions, the Constitution Revision Committee amended the exploratory text both in content and wording, and produced an amended text of the draft revision. After being approved in principle by the CCP Central Committee Secretariat, the amended text was presented to the Third Plenary Session of the Constitution Revision Committee for examination. The Committee discussed the text very carefully, not only article by article, but also word by word.

Comrade Peng Zhen explained the proceedings of the constitution revision to demonstrate how our party leads the people both to enact the constitution and the law and to obey them.

He pointed out that "the constitution is the business rules for our 1 billion people which everybody must obey. Since the people of the whole country must obey it, we must bring the socialist democracy into play by asking all the people to discuss it.

"The process of discussion by the whole people is a process by which all the people confer repeatedly with each other, a process by which the party and the masses confer repeatedly. It is not just a formality. There is no way of knowing whether the views of our party represent the collective views of the people unless we confer with them and learn from the actual application of the law.

"Discussion by the whole people is a very good way to unify the views of all the people. The view of the party and the people must be unified, and views of all the people of the whole country must be unified. How could this be possible, if we do not promote democracy and let everybody participate in the discussion? The four adherences we proposed is a summary of the basic historical experience of our country in modern times as well as a truth

derived from practice. Their position in the draft revised constitution resembles the four columns which support a building. If this were not agreed upon by all, there would be no way to build the house. The four adherences expressly provided in the draft revised constitution do agree with the basic interests and requirements of the people of our country. I believe discussion by the whole people will enable the masses to understand more clearly the importance of this point.

"Discussion by the whole people is an important process by which the 1 billion people participate directly in managing the affairs of the state. The constitution is the fundamental law of the state. When the people take part in discussing the revision of the constitution, they actually participate in drafting and learning how to use the constitution as a legal weapon to manage the important matters of the state.

"Consequently," Comrade Peng Zhen pointed out emphatically, "to organize the whole people to discuss the draft revised constitution is a very important matter. These discussions and revisions will no doubt make the constitution comparatively flawless."

He said when the whole people discuss the draft revision, they must know its content. If not, how could the discussion proceed satisfactorily? The discussion must focus on the major issues in the draft revised constitution. What are the major issues? The eight issues which I had explained on behalf of the Constitution Revision Committee are all major issues. If the people of the whole country could agree on the major issues, the situation would be much simpler. So we must take hold of the major issues and should not let secondary and trifling issues trouble us and divert our attention to other matters."

Comrade Peng Zhen said emphatically again: "The discussion by the whole people must be conducted in full democratic spirit. Everybody should be allowed to speak out and express his views. We must also value the opposing view of the minority because they could help the revision of the constitution."

We talked for 2 hours. We know Comrade Peng Zhen is a busy man and we must not take too much of his time. We therefore rose to take leave. As Comrade Peng Zhen stood up and walked with us to the door, he asked us: "I hope you comrades who do propaganda work could help the people do the discussion well. The constitution should be revised, enacted and observed by all." His words that "the constitution should be revised, enacted and observed by all" kept ringing in our ears after we had taken leave of Comrade Peng Zhen. Indeed, the revision of the constitution is an important matter to the Chinese people. Let us all do our best for the emergence of this perfect new constitution.

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PARTY AND STATE

IMPLEMENTING POLICY ON INTELLECTUALS URGED

Aluminum, Electronic Calculators Plants

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 9 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Li Zhiqin [2621 3112 4428], Tian Xiuying [3944 4423 5391] and Zhao Lingi [6392 2651 3305]: "To Boldly Promote and To Go All Out To Make Use of Intellectuals"]

[Text] Zibo--The Shandong Aluminum Plant Party Committee has been attaching great importance to and boldly making use of intellectuals in the process of the four modernizations, and has thereby promoted continuous progress in its production.

This plant is a large-scale integrated complex having more than 1,500 intellectuals who account for 10.9 percent of the employees of the whole plant. For the purpose of bringing the role of intellectuals into full play, the plant party committee has politically admitted into our party those who conform to the conditions of becoming a party member, and selected those who qualify for becoming a vanguard to be vanguards. Engineer Chen Linjun [7115 2651 0193] has been with this plant for nearly 30 years. Working diligently and conscientiously, he has made contributions to the production of aluminum oxide. He applied six times for party membership, but his wish never came true because of his family background. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, party organizations have maintained the principle that class origin must be determined by oneself, and questions of a political nature in somebody's history must be examined by reality. Since he is always doing very well in his work, not only has he now been admitted into the party, but as an administrative personnel he has also been promoted to deputy director. At present, the plant as a whole has recruited a total of 489 intellectuals into the party, who account for 30.6 percent of the total number of intellectuals of the plant. At the same time, intellectuals elected to be model workers or advanced producers account for over 30 percent of the total number of model workers of the plant as a whole. The plant party committee in making use of intellectuals has successfully adopted the principle of appointing people on their merits. At present, a total of 85 intellectuals have been promoted to leading posts, and 14 of them are on posts of department level and above. They have authority of office and thereby give full play to their professional knowledge. Because our policy has been implemented, the

enthusiasm of large numbers of intellectuals has been aroused. According to incomplete statistics, since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, they have put forward more than 20,000 reasonable suggestions of which more than 4,000 reform projects have been implemented. As a result, they have created a new standard of the 1980's with the old equipment of the 1950's. In 1981, the total value of industrial output increased 27 times over that in 1954 when the plant was in its initial stage. In the same period of time, more than 20 different categories of aluminum oxide have been developed from only a single type of product at the initial stage of the plant.

Weifang--The Weifang Electronic Calculators Plant is a key producer of series-100 calculators in our country. It has a total of 102 scientific and technical personnel. In recent years, a total of 58 of them have one after another been admitted into our party, and 20 of them have assumed leading posts of the plant and the workshop. The leading cadres of the plant have tried their very best to give priority to caring for the daily needs and dwellings of intellectuals. The scientific and technical personnel of the whole plant have personally realized that they themselves have really become a part of the working class, and that basic changes have taken place in their mental attitude. They work assiduously as if they were masters in making concerted efforts to successfully run a socialist enterprise.

This plant started to produce DIS-130 calculators in 1977. Its products have been well received and won high credit. In mid-January this year, the state designated this plant to produce DIS-153 high quality electronic calculators. They have completed the mission of trial production with an amazing speed of 4 and a half months. A crying need of the country has thus been met. Both the manufacture and debugging of this high quality calculator are extremely difficult. The seven scientific and technical personnel of the trial production division have, with the close cooperation of the masses of workers, given full play to their own intelligence and wisdom and untiringly thrown themselves into the battle. From the time when they accepted the mission until the end of April this year when the first calculator was produced, they worked overtime every night, as late as sometime after 10 o'clock. Nobody has ever enjoyed a whole Sunday or ever asked for overtime allowance. Engineer Song Qingchen [1345 3237 2525], who is a party member, is responsible for a variety of technical work related to production technology, blueprint and tape machines. Despite the fact that his wife is paralysed and that they have three young children, he always works overtime at night and sometimes even overnight. The masses of workers said emotionally: "Our DIS-153 calculators are made by the death-defying spirit of our engineers."

## Strong Points Utilized

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 9 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Wang Sheng [3769 0581]: "To Make Jobs Suitable to Everybody's Special Training and To Make Use of One's Strong Points"]

[Text] Linqu--The Linqu Party Committee and party organizations at all levels of departments of industry and communications and their affiliated agencies have been paying the closest attention to giving fair treatment to the scientific and technical personnel so that they can give full play to their strong points. In the past, the situation of placing a person on a job not in line with his special training was rather grave in this country. As a result, the scientific and technical personnel were unable to bring their specialties into full play. Over the past year, the county party committee instructed the party committee of departments of industry and communications and their affiliated agencies and the county personnel department to carry out a more systematic investigation in order to first find out the real situation and then, in accordance with actual needs, go as far as possible to make jobs suitable to everybody's special training so that one can make use of his special knowledge. Assistant engineer Wang Furui [3769 4395 3843] of the county electronics instruments plant is specialized in radio technology, but he was formerly assigned to work at the business department. Last year, after he was reassigned to work in the electronics instruments plant, his professional skill began to be fully utilized. Assistant engineer Chang Huanxun [1728 3562 8113], a graduate of Qinghua University majoring in electronics, is skilled in electronic technology, but he was formerly assigned to work at the county cement plant. In order to give full play to his expertise, the department of industry transferred him to work at the electronics workshop of the electrical machinery plant concentrating on electronics instruments research. Since this workshop was expanded into an independent electronics instruments plant, he was appointed chief of the technical division of the plant. It was in this way that his special knowledge has been fully utilized, and the trial-production of 12 different kinds of new electronics instruments, including the automatic raw material positioner, the automatic raw material sealing control, the silicon controlled power source, the motion monitor alarm and the automatic belt burden scale control have been successfully completed. At present, these electronics instruments are well received by more than 700 cement plants and other industries including iron and steel, petroleum, coal and food in 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous prefectures throughout the country. Early this year, the national Ministry of Building Materials commended him. At present, there are a total of 123 scientific and technical personnel in departments of industry and communications with a college, middle school or professional training, and 112 of them, who account for more than 90 percent of the total, have been assigned to take up appropriate positions.

## Party Admission

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 9 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Bian Qian [0593 6197]: "To Actively and Carefully Admit Intellectuals Into Our Party"]

[Text] Beizhen--The Shengli oil field Binnan oil production headquarters party committee has adopted effective measures to conscientiously implement the party's policy of intellectuals.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, this headquarters' party committee has been the first to carry out a widespread investigation to gain acquaintance with the real situation of more than 500 graduates of universities, middle schools and professional institutions. The party committee has registered and put on record their political background, working conditions and questions left over by history to really get to know how things stand. It was followed by taking the initiative in calling on intellectuals to have heart-to-heart talks with them, to solicit their opinions, and to encourage them to free their minds of ideological apprehension in order to draw close to party organizations. It was on this basis that we have centered on helping intellectuals who have applied for party membership. They have been admitted into our party one by one when they became qualified. According to recent statistics, a total of 37 intellectuals at or above the level of assistant engineer or a medical doctor have been admitted into our party. All unjust, false and wrong charges against them also have been redressed. Likewise, their reputation has been rehabilitated and their titles of technical posts reinstated. In work, this headquarters' party committee has adopted the principle of assigning jobs to people according to their abilities and thereby promoted large numbers of intellectuals who are capable in administration and organization to leading posts at all levels. At present, principal professional leaders of 8 out of 13 grade-3 leading groups are selected from graduates of universities, middle schools and professional institutions. Since 1978, 3 of them have been promoted to deputy chief engineers, 38 to cadres at division chief or deputy division chief levels, and 14 to leading cadres at the grass-root level.

## Scientific, Technical Personnel

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 9 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Song Jiqun [1345 4949 6746]: "To Do a Good Job in Logistics To Support Scientific Research"]

[Text] Zhucheng--Over the last 2 years the Zhucheng Party Committee and county government started from five different aspects to solve such questions as political treatment, working conditions and the well-being of scientific and technical personnel engaged in agricultural work. As a result, their enthusiasm has been aroused and agricultural work in science and technology has been vigorously and dramatically carried out.

The five questions are: 1) Politically we must be concerned with scientific and technical personnel. In recent years, 33 scientific and technical personnel engaged in agricultural work have been admitted into our party and another 55 have been promoted to leading county, commune and farm posts. 2) Some actual problems of their needs must be resolved. Since 1979, the problem of 16 couples of scientific and technical personnel living apart has been rectified one after another. The record of the family members of one of these households has, in accordance with our policy, been changed from agricultural to non-agricultural residents. New dwellings have also been allotted to 18 families of scientific and technical personnel whose former living quarters were inadequate. 3) With respect to working conditions, the county government has squeezed 310,000 yuan from local revenues to build 94 housing units for the commune agricultural technology station and to furnish all of those who engage in agricultural technology promotion work with beds, desks, chairs and benches for use in their office and dormitories. As a result, their working conditions have obviously improved. 4) With respect to articles to be supplied under labor insurance, each scientific and technical worker has been provided with an overcoat, a raincoat, a pair of shoes, a magnifier, and a steel tape in accordance with our policy. The county government also has decided that starting from 1982, it will try to allocate one bicycle each to the agricultural technology promotion personnel step by step. 5) With regard to bonus and fringe benefits, they will be treated at least equal to the average level of benefits received by commune comrades.

#### Solving Problems

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 9 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Wang Songshan [3769 2646 1472] and Liu Mingxin [0491 0730 0207]: "To Help Scientific And Technical Personnel Solve Their Real Problems"]

[Text] Changle--Since this spring, the Changle Party Committee has organized three inspection groups which have, in conformity with the principle of making the focal point stand out, summing up experience, finding out problems, and correcting while inspecting, visited and investigated 78 units and contacted 337 scientific and technical personnel by adopting the methods of listening to reports, conducting inspection in person, and holding seminars to find out the real situation and to solve problems. In so doing, they have accomplished an inspection on the work of intellectuals throughout the county in an all-round way, and thereby enabled the party's policy on intellectuals to be better implemented. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, a total of 318 intellectuals have been admitted into our party throughout the county, and the total number of party members who are intellectuals reached 507, which accounts for 25.4 percent of the total number of intellectuals in the whole county. A total of 103 intellectuals have assumed posts at all levels. Four of them work at the county level and another 23 at division level. A total of 658 technical personnel have acquired appropriate technical titles. The problem of couples living apart of 66 intellectuals has been settled. Family members of 19 intellectuals at middle level have been accorded a status of nonagricultural residents from their original agricultural status. Dwellings of 75 intellectuals have been improved and wages of more than 1,500 intellectuals have been readjusted.

PARTY AND STATE

BRIEFS

HENAN POLICY TOWARD INTELLECTUALS--Since the third plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, Henan Province has done a great deal of work in implementing the policy toward intellectuals and has achieved very great results. The province has promoted to leadership posts a large number of intellectuals who have both ability and political integrity, are young and energetic and have professional knowledge and organizational and leadership ability. Of these intellectuals, two have been elected vice governors, one has been elected vice chairman of the Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee, 201 have been promoted to leadership posts at the departmental and bureau levels of a prefecture or a municipality, 2,812 have been promoted to the departmental level of a county and 11,263 have been promoted to the section level of a county. Now 4,299 intellectuals have joined the Communist Party and the technical titles of a large number of intellectuals have been promoted. [HK040650 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 27 Aug 82]

HENAN PROMOTES FORESTRY--Since the third plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, Henan Province has done well in promoting forestry. Since 1979, the province has afforested 8.93 million mu, which is one-third of the province's afforested area. The province has planted 1.08 billion trees along roads and rivers and around villages and houses. Twenty-two counties in the province are basically self-sufficient in timber. [HK040650 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 27 Aug 82]

HUBEI INDUSTRY, COMMUNICATIONS--The total value of industrial output of Hubei Province increased by an average of 15.1 percent per year from 1979 to 1981. The amount of investment in light industry in the province over the past 3 years amounted to 66.3 percent of the total amount of investment in light industry in the 30 years prior to the last 3 years. Output of main light industrial products in 1981 was 300 to 1,000 percent more than in 1978. Heavy industrial departments have done well in serving light industrial departments and other departments and heavy industrial production has increased. The province has closed, suspended, merged and shifted to other types of production some 1,900 enterprises, which excessively consumed energy resources, the quality of whose products was poor and which incurred serious losses. The province has organized 142 integrated complexes and general plants. Approximately half of the enterprises have implemented the

economic responsibility system. The revenue derived from industry in the province in 1981 was 1.6 billion yuan more than in 1978. [HK040650 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 29 Aug 82]

BRISK HUBEI MARKETS--Since the third plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, urban and rural markets in Hubei Province have been brisk. The total amount of commodities retailed in urban areas in 1981 was 43.2 percent more than in 1978 and increased by an average of 12.7 percent per year from 1978 to 1981. The sales of high-grade and durable consumer goods increased relatively quickly. The sales of sewing machines, bicycles, watches and radios increased by 100 percent, and the sales of TV sets, electric fans, recorders and washing machines increased by between 300 to 1,200 percent. The amount of consumer goods retailed at the county level and below in 1981 was 71.3 percent more than in 1978 and increased by an average of 19.7 percent per year from 1978 to 1981. The volume of business in 1981 was 240 percent more than in 1978. The province now has some 2,000 fairs and markets and each urban resident spends an average of 55 yuan on commodities at these fairs and markets. [HK040650 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 2 Sep 82]

HUNAN CRIME RATE DROPS--CPC committees and governments at all levels in Hunan Province have seriously tidied up social order, resulting in a remarkable improvement of social order. From January to July this year, some 1,500 criminals in the province surrendered themselves to public security organs and confessed their crimes and some 20,100 criminals were arrested and sent by the masses to public security organs. A large number of criminals have stopped committing crimes. The incidence of criminal cases from January to July this year was 11 percent less than in the corresponding period last year, the incidence of serious and big cases dropped by 8.6 percent, the rate of cases cracked in this period was 13.6 percent more than in the same period of last year and the rate of serious and big cases cracked increased by 93 percent. According to incomplete statistics, the whole province has sent some 4,600 public security cadres and policemen to places where social order is bad to help them improve social order. The social order of some 85 percent of counties, municipalities, communes, townships, streets, organs and enterprises throughout the province has remarkably improved. [HK040650 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2310 GMT 26 Aug 82]

HUNAN POLITICAL, LEGAL CONFERENCE--The conference on political and legal work which the Hunan Provincial CPC Committee held and which lasted 8 days concluded in Changsha on 26 August. The conference conveyed and studied the spirit of the national conference on political and legal work and looked into and arranged for future work and tasks. Wan Da, second secretary of the provincial CPC Committee and concurrently chairman of the provincial Political and Legal Committee, spoke at the conference, saying that serving the four modernizations is the fundamental task of political and legal work. He said that stepping up the struggle against the serious criminal activities in the economic sphere is not only the current prominent task but also the future long-term important task. It is necessary to grasp it firmly and well. At the conclusion of the conference, Yin Ziming, vice chairman of the provincial People's Congress Standing Committee, made a report. [HK040650 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2310 GMT 26 Aug 82]

HUNAN PARTY MEMBERS--Since the third plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, party organizations at all levels in Hunan Province have admitted some 100,800 people into the party, thus strengthening the building of party organizations. They have absorbed into the party advanced elements who have a high degree of political awareness and professional knowledge so as to generally improve the quality of new party members. Over the past 3 years or so, the province has admitted some 16,700 intellectuals of various professions into the party, accounting for 16.59 percent of the total number of party members admitted. [HK040650 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 28 Aug 82]

HUNAN RAW COAL PRODUCTION--To celebrate the 12th CPC Congress, Hunan provincial subordinate coal mines produced some 28,500 tons of raw coal on 1 September, which was 15.3 percent more than the normal daily production quota. Provincial subordinate coal mines' output of raw coal in August was some 744,000 tons, and they overfulfilled the monthly production quota. [HK040650 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 2 Sep 82]

CSO: 4005/1293

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON STUDY OF ZHENG CHENGGONG

HK020447 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 16 Aug 82 p 3

[Article by Kong Dongwei [1313 0520 0251] and Zhang Ping [4545 1627]: "Summary of the Discussions at the Fujian Provincial Academic Symposium on the Study of Zheng Chenggong"]

[Text] A symposium on the study of Zheng Chenggong was held at Xiamen University, Fujian Province 26 July-1 August 1982 to commemorate the 320th anniversary of Zheng's recovery of Taiwan. Lively discussions on subjects such as Zheng's recovery of Taiwan and his anti-Qing activities were held by 100-odd Chinese and foreign scholars at the symposium. The discussions are summarized as follows:

1. On Zheng's recovery of Taiwan: The comrades at the meeting gave high credit to Zheng's expulsion of Dutch colonialists and his recovery and development of Taiwan. Some comrades emphatically pointed out that Zheng's recovery of Taiwan did, to a certain extent, curb the advance of Western colonialists, contributed to Korea's and Japan's development and provided a favorable situation for Overseas Chinese economic development. Consequently, it made great contribution to Asian and world history. Some foreign scholars pointed out that Zheng Chenggong is not only a prominent figure in Chinese history, but also an international figure of the 17th century. He played a remarkable role in the development of international sea trade and naval arms.

As for the motive behind Zheng's recovery of Taiwan, some scholars expressed the belief that he wanted to obtain a solid base for anti-Qing activities. Some, however, maintained that he wanted to protect the sea traders' interests. The anti-Qing activities were only of secondary importance. Some gave credence to the belief that the main motive stemmed from nationalism--opposition to the Dutch colonialists' invasion of Chinese territory. Scholars' assessment of Zheng varied as their views on his motive were divergent. Some comrades were of the opinion that assessment could not be based only on motive or effect. Only by linking effect with motive could assessment of Zheng's contribution be made or could his class and historical limitations be determined.

2. On Zheng's resistance against the Qing dynasty: Some maintained that in view of the implementation of the cruel policy of suppression by the Manchu's noble class, Zheng's resistance against the Qing represented the interests of China's main and minor nationalities. His resistance against the Qing should be given credit, as it affects the entire nation. Some, however, held that his resistance against the Qing represented the protection of sea traders' interests. His motive was to preserve and strengthen his own force. It was, therefore, not resolute and thorough. Some expressed the belief that though it mainly represented the interests of the landlords of China's main nationality, objectively it also reflected the demand of the masses. Some even expressed the belief that it was against the historical trend to resist the Qing after it had basically unified the entire country.

As for the peace talks between the Qing dynasty and Zheng, a school of thought was that what was on Zheng's mind was not whether he should surrender, but whether it was feasible to surrender since peace talks would mean that his will was shaken. Another school of thought was that Zheng was adamant during the peace talks. They were only a strategy to gain time to replenish the provisions and funds for his troops, to expand his armed strength and to save the lives of Zheng Zhilong and other relatives. Some comrades discussed the views of Taiwan's scholars. They maintained that Zheng was not trapped during his peace talks with the Qing but that, instead, it was manipulated by him. Both parties, in fact, had some gains and losses during the peace talks. In part, Zheng gained more than he lost. In general, the peace talks were favorable to the Qing.

Comrades differed on whether Zheng should be regarded as a national hero. Many were of the opinion that his resistance against the Qing was righteous and reflected the desire of all nationalities. He should, therefore, be regarded as a national hero. Some maintained that the reason for Zheng being regarded as a national hero was that his expulsion of Dutch colonialists, his recovery of Taiwan and his resistance against the Qing should be given credit. It is, however, inadvisable to regard him as a national hero. The concept of a national hero was also discussed at the symposium.

3. On the economic activities of Zheng's group: Some scholars expressed the belief that sea trade was Zheng's way of safeguarding the source of ammunition and the provisions and funds for his troops. Its effects on his resistance against the Qing, however, should not be overestimated. Some maintained that it was the main economic support of Zheng's group. It would be very difficult for Zheng to engage in long-term anti-Qing activities if he was only supported by his sense of loyalty. The reason why Xiamen became Zheng's base of anti-Qing activities was that it was an important foreign trade center. Some theses on the study of the rise and fall of Zheng's group clearly explained the destiny of maritime traders in our feudalistic society and the reasons why they could not attain full development. Many comrades expressed the belief that Zheng was the pioneer who put mercantilism into practice and scored good results.

4. On the assessment of Shi Lang and Zheng Jing: Some comrades pointed out that Shi Lang's suppression of Taiwan stemmed from national need rather than personal grudge, although he had old grudges against Zheng Chenggong. He took Taiwan from Zheng and united the country. It can be said that he was the unaware partner of and successor to Zheng's undertaking. Some comrades, however, maintained that although Shi made a considerable contribution to the suppression of Taiwan and to its future, his contribution should not be overrated nor should it be mentioned in the same breath with Zheng's. Shi's proposal to suppress Taiwan stemmed from his personal motive of wreaking personal vengeance, pledging loyalty and showing off his ability. He should not be regarded as perfect just because he suppressed Taiwan.

As for the assessment of Zheng Jing, some comrades gave credence to the belief that Zheng Jing's resistance against the Qing was against the historical trend. In particular, his participation in the rebellion of the three princes turned Zheng's group into a feudalistic separatist group. The group's increasing exploitation and suppression of the people of Taiwan impeded Taiwan's further economic development and the unification of the country. Some, however, were of the opinion that Zheng Jing was an influential figure who had good and bad points in both the history of Taiwan and mainland China. He made considerable contributions to Taiwan's development and to the promotion of its social, economic and cultural development. His return to China to resist the Qing was in essence different from the rebellion of separatists such as Wu Sanguei.

CSO: 4005/1303

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### NINGXIA HOLDS POLITICAL LEGAL WORK CONFERENCE

HK100814 Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 29 Aug 82 p 1

[Report: "Autonomous Region Holds Political, Legal Work Conference"]

[Text] The Ningxia Regional CPC Committee held a regional political and legal work conference in Helan County from 20-25 August. At the meeting, the spirit of the national political and legal work conference was relayed, our region's political and legal work situation was analyzed and measures for implementing the directives of the national political and legal work conference were discussed and studied.

Shen Xiaozeng, deputy secretary of the regional CPC committee and secretary of the regional political and legal committee, presided over the conference and gave a summation speech. Xue Hongfu, secretary of the regional CPC committee, relayed the spirit of the national political and legal work conference.

This was the largest political and legal conference ever held in this region. Attending the conference were responsible persons of the CPC committees, political and legal committees, public security departments, procuratorates, courts and other judicial and administrative departments of the region and the various prefectures, municipalities and counties, totaling more than 240 people.

The conference was of the opinion that the basic task of political and legal work during the new period was to perfect the socialist democracy and the socialist legal system, strengthen the people's democratic dictatorship and defend and promote the socialist modernization which was centered on economic construction. The political and legal departments, as the tools of the people's democratic dictatorship, must be adapted to the requirements of the new situation and new task and should more consciously serve the economic foundation and the four modernizations.

The conference analyzed the public security situation in our region and believed that public security in our region, especially in our cities, had remarkably improved. However, public security in our cities still is not stable. In the rural areas, quite a few problems related to public security have cropped up. We must soberly realize the long-term,

complicated and difficult nature of the task of bringing order to our public security and overcome and guard against the idea that we can slacken our efforts and vigilance. Both in our rural and urban areas, we must adopt "comprehensive measures" to improve our public security. Such "comprehensive measures" mean that we should, in accordance with the principles and policies formulated by the party Central Committee and under the unified leadership of the party committees at various levels, give full play to the roles of the political and legal departments, make all the departments and units shoulder their responsibility and grasp key, major and fundamental work. We should continue to mete out prompt and severe punishment to serious criminals in accordance with the law and do a good job of propagating the socialist legal system. We should do our civil administrative work satisfactorily and contribute to the stability of society.

The conference pointed out that to crack down on criminal activities in the economic field is a tremendous task for our whole party both at present and in the future and that we should never regard the serious criminal activities in the economic field as being merely common criminal activities. It pointed out that these activities are the serious expression of class struggle in the new historical conditions at a time when we are opening up to the outside world and enlivening our economy at home, and therefore our struggle against these activities is a struggle against the corruption of capitalist ideology. In the future, political and legal departments at all levels should continue to vigorously cooperate with the party discipline inspection committees, obey the central authorities' directives and the instructions of the regional party committee, treat cracking down on serious economic crimes as an important task and more conscientiously and actively pay close attention to satisfactorily fulfilling this task. We should earnestly pay close attention to investigating and cracking major and important cases and mete out severe and prompt punishment according to the law on the basis of thoroughly investigating all the facts related to the crimes.

The conference discussed the problem of reorganizing and building up the ranks of political and legal workers. The conference demanded that we satisfactorily reorganize and build up these ranks in accordance with the principle of "reorganizing, expanding, training and improving at the same time."

The conference emphatically pointed out that strengthening and improving the party's leadership over political and legal work is the basic factor for ensuring the healthy development of political and legal work. This must be fixed in the minds of all our political and legal cadres and policemen, especially the leading cadres. They must never waver in their belief in this idea.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

CALL FOR STUDY OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY CONFLICTS

HK010130 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 21 Aug 82 p 3

[Article by Zhang Jiangmin [1728 3068 2494]: "Make a Penetrating Study of the Contradictions in Socialist Society"]

[Text] At present, there is a great urgency and reality in launching a study of the contradictions in socialist society. This is because our country is confronted with many problems in the new historical period that need theoretical answers and summarization, and what is more, the study made by the theoretical circles in this respect lags far behind the development of actual socialist practice.

Marxist philosophy holds that, whether you are studying a capitalist or a socialist society, you have to start from the analysis of contradictions. We can only get a clear understanding of the essence of society and find out the solution for the contradictions in society by analyzing the universality and particularity of social contradictions, the special characteristics and nature of social contradictions and the development and transformation of the basic and main contradictions in society and their current manifestations. Marx' "Capitalism," Lenin's "Imperialism Is the Highest Stage of Capitalism" and Comrade Mao Zedong's "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," were all done in this way. It is a pity that during a certain period in the past, we were divorced from the correct viewpoint of "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," mixed up the two different types of social contradictions and erroneously misrepresented the basic and main contradiction of socialist society, thus causing serious consequences. Facts have proved that, whether or not the contradictions in socialist society are correctly understood and handled has a great bearing on the socialist cause. Therefore, we must go deeply into the study of the contradictions in socialist society and study the problems of dialectics in the socialist period. This is our base in laying down the correct policy and tactics, and is a guarantee in realizing modern socialism.

In the new period of socialism, philosophical study should persist in linking theory with practice and attach more importance to combining the philosophical principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with the concrete practice of our socialist modernization. We must study the

new conditions and problems of the four modernizations and study the new particularities of the contradictions in socialist society to give a philosophical answer or to raise them to a philosophical understanding. In this way, we can establish flesh-and-blood philosophical ties with the practical life of the masses of people, light up a bright prospect for building a new social life and maintain the vigorous vitality of Marxist philosophy.

Marxist philosophy develops along with the development of practice. In order to enrich and develop Marxist philosophy, we must continue to sum up the experiences of struggle in a capitalist society and the new developing achievements of natural science, and in particular emphasize conscientiously summing up the negative and positive experiences of socialist revolution and socialist construction, and study the new problems of the contradictions in socialist society. If we negate combining the principles of Marxist philosophy with the concrete practice of our country, or deny or ignore the study of the contradiction in socialist society, it would be impossible for Marxist philosophy to further develop in our country.

The study of the contradictions in socialist society comprises a variety of meanings. For instance, what are the new contents in the sense of unity and struggle in the contradictions in socialist society, what is the mutual role among them and what is the motive force in developing socialism? What is the universality and particularity of the contradictions in socialist society, and what are the new particularities in the relationship between them? How should we comprehend antagonistic and nonantagonistic contradictions, contradictions between the enemy and ourselves, and the contradictions among the people that exist in socialist society? Why must we regard the two different kinds of contradictions as a science for study? What are the main and basic contradictions in a socialist society, and how can they be solved? How does a socialist society gradually change from quantitative to qualitative, and what are the way and basic content of this process? What are the new particularities of the negation of negation in socialist society? Does partial negation exist in the general course of the negation of negation? Why are socialist new emerging things invincible? What contradictions exist in the modern socialist construction, and how can we correctly solve these contradictions to foster the development of the four modernizations, and so on.

In studying the contradictions in socialist society, we must proceed from practice and seek truth from facts, and emphasize analyzing and summing up the fresh experiences of socialist revolution and socialist construction. The successful experiences gained are very important in helping us understand the contradictions in socialist society, and the lessons gained through setbacks, which help us to comprehensively understand the dialectics in the socialist period, also must not be ignored. By continuously developing democracy, emancipating our minds and practically summing up the positive and negative experiences, we can strictly understand the essence of the contradictions in socialist society and discover the development laws of the contradictions in socialist society.

The study of the contradictions in socialist society is arduous work, and merely relying on personal efforts is not enough. We must rely on collective study and discussion, give play to the wisdom and role of the collective and earnestly pool the wisdom of the masses, and only then can we gradually reach the target of advancing from imperfect to relatively perfect, and from inaccuracy to relative accuracy, and go deeper and improve step by step.

The study of the contradictions in socialist society should be carried out in a planned way. As for the first step, on the whole we can follow the view and method of "On Contradictions" in analyzing contradictions, and apply it to the problem of analyzing the contradictions in socialist society, and then take this as a base to further perfect our exposition. Comrade Mao Zedong once said the mere possession of "On Contradictions" is not enough, we must do more to analyze the contradiction in socialist society and write more new dialectical works to lead the cause of socialist revolution and construction. It was too late for Comrade Mao Zedong to accomplish this work, therefore the work has historically been placed on the shoulders of this and the next generation. We are expected to assiduously make great efforts, sum up the practical experiences of socialism, study the development and characteristics of the contradictions in socialist society and write dialectical works with distinctive Chinese features and Chinese style to serve the modern cause of socialism.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'GONGREN RIBAO' DISCUSSES EQUALITY OF SEXES

HK030629 Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 25 Aug 82 p 3

[Article by Xu Bing [1776 3521]: "Promote Sexual Equality, Oppose Giving More Weight to Boys Than to Girls"]

[Text] In his article "There Is Nothing To Be Reproached for in Giving More Weight to Boys Than to Girls," Comrade Xie Gang [6043 0474] said: "During the distant clan commune period, 'matriarchy' dominated over society first, and then 'patriarchy' prevailed. This was a step forward, which showed that women were less capable and thus had to give way to men." This opinion, which is apparently right but actually wrong, obviously embodies a discriminatory view of women.

Yes, the transition from matriarchy to patriarchy was indeed a step forward in history. However, both matriarchy and patriarchy were temporary forms of family and marriage, used to meet the needs of a specific stage of historical development. Patriarchy is definitely not the ultimate form of family. Following historical development, the family form based on monogyny, in which husband and wife enjoy equality, is bound to replace the patriarchal family system. This is, naturally, another great step forward in history. As everybody knows, the development of family form is mainly determined by the mode of production of a society. The replacement of matriarchy by patriarchy neither indicated that women were capable in the past and were no longer "capable" now, nor that men were incapable in the past and have become capable now. The real causes of this change were: 1) Children can identify their own fathers. During the matriarchal period, mankind remained in the age of barbarism, when group marriage and loose dual marriage prevailed. At that time, children were unable to identify their own fathers, being able to know only their own mothers. Under such circumstances, lineage could only be determined matrilineally. Later, the monogyny marriage system was developed. Thus, children began to be able to identify their own fathers, and determining lineage on a patriarchal basis became possible. 2) The social division of labor cancelled out the social significance of female labor. The economic system which prevailed in the matriarchal society was the communal household economy. In such a primitive communal society, men were engaged in hunting, gathering and producing the necessary work tools, while women had to undertake housework and take care of children. The labors of both were social labor, and had

equal social value. However, following the emergence of the monogyny family system, the individual family became the basis of private life. Thus, housework became a pure private matter and lost its social value. Women were excluded from social production and, compared with men's productive labor, women's household labor became insignificant. This pushed women to economic dependence on men. Consequently, women became household servants, while men managed to establish their authority in the family.

3) The inheritance of private property made the determination of lineage on a patriarchal basis necessary. In the matriarchal society, property was owned and inherited by the whole matriarchal clan. However, once individual households emerged, property was privately owned by men. Then, household property was no longer inherited by the whole clan but by the man who possessed the status of true heir. Therefore, it became necessary and possible to determine lineage on the patriarchal basis.

The above three points are the principal reasons for the replacement of matriarchy by patriarchy, with the second point being the most decisive, that is, women being excluded from social labor. As pointed out by Engels, "as long as women are still excluded from social production and labor and are constrained to private labor in the household, the emancipation of women and the equality of men and women are now and will be impossible. The emancipation of women will only be possible when the vast number of women can engage in production on a social scale and when household work takes only a very little part of their time." Here Engels clearly indicated the basis of patriarchy as well as the basis of the equality of men and women. Comrade Xie Gang said: "Although the 'steadfast' concept of 'giving more weight to boys than to girls' has been fiercely criticized, it is passed on from generation to generation.... This has shown that it is correct and has great vitality." Yes, as a social mentality, the concept of giving more weight to boys than to girls is a reflection of social reality and an objective existence. However, an objective existence will not necessarily be correct. The phenomenon of women having been excluded from social labor for several thousands of years seemed to have "great vitality," and the concept of giving more weight to boys than to girls, which was based on this social reality, was steadfast indeed. However, following the emergence of socialized mass production, women have been engaged in a comprehensive way in modern industrial production. Thus, the objective basis on which the concept of giving more weight to boys than to girls existed was overthrown. As a result, this concept is vanishing and will eventually lose its "vitality." In capitalist society, the status of women is much higher than that of their predecessors in feudal society. However, although partial equality of men and women has been realized in capitalist society, complete and thorough equality of men and women cannot possibly be realized. Only when socialism is reached will it be possible to realize the full equality of men and women. Modern socialist production needs the participation of women, or more frankly, the tasks of socialist production can never be accomplished without women. On the other hand, as the system of exploitation of man by man has been abolished in socialist society, men and women are politically equal and, economically, enjoy equal pay for equal work. Moreover, equality of men and women is solemnly acknowledged

in socialist law, and thus its enforcement is guaranteed by law. All these conditions have not only made the equality of men and women become possible, but have also turned it into fact.

Therefore, the concepts of giving more weight to boys than to girls, esteeming men and disdaining women and so on are nothing more than matters which had existed in the history of mankind but have vanished now. If someone still sticks to the old concept of esteeming men and disdaining women today, is he not a man who is behind the times?

CSO: 4005/1303

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HUNAN WORKS TO SOLVE PROBLEMS IN EDUCATION WORK

HK050248 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2310 GMT 4 Sep 82

[Text] According to HUNAN RIBAO, since the provincial CPC committee and government held an urgent telephone conference in mid-July on education work, the prefectures, municipalities and counties have rapidly implemented the spirit of the meeting and taken steps to solve a number of urgent problems in education work. They have achieved initial success in this endeavor.

In the past 1 month and more, the province has organized 260 inspection groups and sent 197 leading party and government cadres at and above county level to carry out inspections on the communes and brigades and provide assistance. The province has dealt severely with 354 cases of beating up teachers and taking possession of school property. Wages arrears have now been paid 8,000 teachers in schools run by the people. Places that have not yet implemented remuneration for such teachers this year are now hastening to do so.

While seriously dealing with these problems, the leading party and government organs throughout the province have also summed up and publicized the good typical examples of some progressive teachers in protecting school property, and have conducted education and activities among the cadres and masses in respecting the teachers and caring for the schools. They have thus established a good atmosphere in this respect. Certain cadres and peasants who were in dispute with teachers have voluntarily gone to the schools to conduct self-criticism and strengthen unity with the teachers. Some pupils' parents have paid calls on the teachers to seek the views of the schools on strengthening education in the home. Commune and brigade cadres have visited some teachers ill in hospital. When some teachers have difficulties in their domestic life, the cadres and peasants help to solve them as far as possible. Some schools were in a poor state of repair and lacked teaching equipment. Commune and brigade cadres have launched the masses to contribute labor and material to repair the buildings and make some teaching equipment. Some communes and brigades have also assigned protection and management personnel to the schools.

CSO: 4005/1303

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HUNAN OFFICIAL DISCUSSES EDUCATION SITUATION

HK031040 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 1 Sep 82

[Text] On 30 August, (Wang Xiangxian), director of the Education Department of Hunan Province, at the request of the provincial government, reported to the 17th meeting of the provincial people's congress standing committee on the situation of primary and middle education since last year and on a few current items of work. In the past year, the Education Department, in addition to doing well the task of intellectual and cultural education, has further reinforced ideological and moral education for students. The appearance, spirit and discipline of the schools have greatly improved through the civility and courtesy drive, physical culture has been promoted, and the schools give us a fresh impression. Director (Wang) pointed out that although great achievements had been scored in education in this province, there are still many problems and difficulties. The chief problem is that the passing percentage is low and drop-out percentage high in primary schools. There exists, in many regions or schools, a problem of pursuing one-sidedly an increase in the proportion of students entering middle schools. The quality and quantity of both the teachers and the education itself are low, political and ideological work is weak, and there has not been any change in the unitary structure of secondary education. Therefore, the following tasks must be grasped firmly and well:

1. A big debate on the aims of socialist education must be organized throughout the province, first among the education workers, so as to form a strong public opinion so that our party's principle on education will become deeply rooted, in the people's minds, and vague concepts can be clarified and wrong concepts overcome.

2. Leadership must be strengthened, plans well formulated, the task of making primary education universal accomplished, the teaching force of primary schools reinforced, educational expenditure duly increased, conditions for running primary schools improved, the structure of secondary education be reformed, and the proportion of vocational education increased.

In conclusion, all favorable conditions must be fully utilized to push the education of our province steadily and positively forward.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'RENMIN RIBAO' CITES ZHOU YANG REMARKS

HK091049 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Sep 82 p 3

[Article by RENMIN RIBAO reporters Cong Linzhong and Meng Xiaoyun:  
"Education, Qualified Personnel Policy--A Visit With 12th CPC Congress  
Delegate Zhou Yang"]

[Text] After sitting down, Comrade Zhou Yang amiably said: "What would you like me to talk about? You can suggest some topics."

Since 1932, Zhou Yang has been a party leader in culture, education and propaganda fields. We asked him: "Would you please say something about the intellectual issue?"

"I can talk about this problem for 3 days and nights," he said, smiling.  
"What should I start with?"

He then began with education. Zhou Yang said: The United Nations has an organization called the "United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization." It is reasonable to put education in first place, for without education there would not be any qualified personnel. If there were no qualified personnel of all types, who could we rely on in the building of material and spiritual civilization? Therefore, education is a matter of primary importance.

Zhou Yang studied in Japan in his early years. He said: "Whenever they mentioned the Meiji restoration, the Japanese would like to talk about making their country rich and building up its military power. In a period of only three or four decades, they defeated both Russia and the Qing dynasty. After being defeated in World War II, Japan revived as an economic power in less than 30 years. Why could they achieve these results? Among various causes and factors, one of the important factors is that they always set great store by education."

In books dealing with their history, the Japanese have written: "In order to make our country rich, it is necessary to enrich the knowledge of our common people. In order to build modern industry, there must be many people who can promote this cause." In the last years of the Meiji era, 95 percent of the people in Japan attended school. Zhou Yang said: "When traveling in

the Japanese countryside, people today still find that the buildings of a primary school are always the best in a village. This shows that the Japanese people have great respect for education." The years after World War II were called the "dark period" in Japan. In those days, the nation met with severe financial troubles and was bogged down in an awful mess. But the Japanese still held that "no methods other than education can revive Japan." After the "miraculous economic development" was realized, the Japanese concluded: "Other than the technical transformation in industry and agriculture, the fundamental cause of this success lies in our high standard of education."

After telling us about the history of Japan, Zhou Yang said: "Though the content of education in Japan is different from that in China, we should use their experience for reference; that is, by popularizing cultural and scientific knowledge in the people, the growth of industry, science and technology could, in turn, be promoted. Recently, the Japanese Ministry of Education brazenly distorted history, describing the Japanese aggression against China, known to the whole world, as an 'advance.' As a matter of course, this has aroused protests from the people in China and in other countries, including the people in Japan. But this again shows that the principle of national education is of primary importance."

"A socialist state and a proletarian party should place even greater importance on the education issue and have a broader view in this respect, for this is of strategic significance." Zhou Yang added: "The criticism by the 'gang of four' of the saying that 'knowledge represents strength' was absolutely ridiculous. Lenin said: 'Knowledge is a weapon for laborers to win their liberation.' Our objective is to realize the four modernizations and to build the two civilizations. If a nation had no knowledge, no culture, did not even know how to read and write and calculate, how could spiritual civilization be built? It is very necessary to encourage the 'five stresses and four beauties,' but that could hardly be achieved without popularized education as a foundation. The experience in Japan indeed merits being taken for reference."

China's educational cause has undergone great development in the last 30 years. Especially in recent years, both the central and local authorities have attached importance to the development of education. By tapping financial potentials, they have increased funds for education. As a whole, however, funds for education are still rather low. In some provinces and cities, some people in power even diverted, deducted and misused funds earmarked for education, using various excuses and means. In view of this situation, Zhou Yang said: "It is necessary to adjust the relationship between material construction and spiritual building. An appropriate ratio should first be worked out. It is absolutely correct to give priority to economic construction, for the economy is a foundation. But this cannot be an excuse for looking down on investments in intelligence. If we lose foresight in this respect, economic construction will ultimately be affected. In a big nation as ours, funds for education should have an appropriate share in the national economy."

Zhou Yang continued: "Education is the means to spread knowledge. So, attention to education shows the attitude toward knowledge. It is an extremely nihilistic view toward intellectuals and the cultural legacy of the human race to think that we can carry out revolution and construction without employing knowledge and intellectuals. This cannot be taken lightly, for this view is extremely absurd. It is unimaginable that modernization can be realized in a nation with many illiterate people."

The topic of our conversation then turned to intellectuals. There have been discussions in the press recently assessing China's present-day intellectuals, asking how to give full scope to their abilities and how to make proper arrangements for their jobs and living conditions. In this debate, Zhou Yang believes the key is to lay down a series of policies and measures that will protect talented people and produce more of them. He said: "Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out at the national science conference that the majority of intellectuals are already part of the Chinese working class. This is a historical summation and a major policy. We should, in addition, have concrete regulations and measures such as, for example, the system of academic degrees. In 1958, Comrade Nie Rongzhen tried to reinstate the system of issuing academic degrees but was opposed. Now, our state has laid down the 'Regulations on Academic Degrees of the PRC.' A group of graduate students have been conferred degrees as doctors and masters this year. This is the first time since the PRC was founded. In my opinion, this is an improvement not only in the academic field, but one that has a bearing on our country's cadre system. How should we judge the ability of a cadre and choose a qualified person? The general requirement for a qualified cadre should be the possession of both professional ability and political integrity. Yet, more specific standards should still be worked out. In the past, however, some people, in fact, chose persons mainly based on seniority. Academic degrees can represent the level of one's learning. Cadres cannot be chosen by seniority. It is even worse to promote cadres based on familiarity. People should be promoted according to their learning and ability. Yet, the most important thing is their political integrity. Thus, revolutionary spirit has been put in the first place of the four requirements for promoting cadres. The second requirement is age, that is, they should be young in average age. As for the other two requirements--to make cadres better educated and more professionally competent--they refer to their learning, experience, intelligence and ability."

Recently, there was a television play entitled "Prize." In this story, a middle-aged intellectual was awarded a prize for his invention, and his wife was busy planning how to use this money. But when the prize, nominally 200 yuan, was awarded, a large portion had been deducted, and only 15 yuan was available. "This reflects a policy problem," Zhou Yang said with deep feeling. "It is not easy to put a correct policy into effect. The problem in our actual life reflected in this play left people not knowing whether to laugh or cry."

Sunlight filtered through the curtain. Zhou Yang leaned back on the sofa and thought a little while. He then said: "Another major policy is the

policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, gratifying changes have been brought about in the vast rural areas of our country. What did these changes derive from? They derived from the series of agricultural policies laid down by the central authorities. These policies have aroused the enthusiasm of the hundreds of millions of peasants. It is also necessary to arouse the enthusiasm of the intellectuals, and only thus can the realization of modernization enjoy hopeful prospects. The policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools contend set forth by the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong is the one which is the most effective in mobilizing the initiative of the intellectuals. Without this policy and merely depending on issuing prizes, things will get nowhere."

"Since you have been engaged in work concerning intellectuals for 50 years, can you relate to us any experience or lessons you have learned?" Immediately after asking this, we felt the question was a bit blunt.

But Zhou Yang did not mind. Squinting in the distance, he said softly: "I often thought about why intellectuals so deeply cherish the memory of Premier Zhou. He not only set strict demands on them, but also gave meticulous care to the intellectuals, respected them and cherished their initiative. Despite many claims on his time, he still gave every consideration to one intellectual after another, whether he had achievements or shortcomings, whether he was in difficulties or suffered frustrations. This shows the broad vision of a great proletarian revolutionary. In the intellectuals' eyes, he was both a respectable state leader and an intimate and trusted friend. Another problem concerns the orientation to which we should direct the initiative of the intellectuals. Should we direct them to the individualist orientation of seeking fame and profit or to the socialist orientation of serving the people and the socialist cause? This important issue has a bearing on the orientation of our cultural work. Intellectuals, particularly those in the fields of art and literature, are very sensitive and most of them are very talented. We must cherish their initiative and, at the same time, help them to keep the correct orientation in their work and keep close ties with the people."

When answering our questions, Zhou Yang also expressed many other opinions. Because of limited space, we outline his opinions as follows:

1. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party Central Committee has done a great deal of work for the intellectuals, including giving them due social status, redressing mishandled cases involving them, admitting some of them into the party, promoting some outstanding persons among them to leading positions, assessing and promoting their titles in technical and professional work, establishing the system of academic degree and improving their living and working conditions. All this is known to all. At present, however, the leftist influence still exists when people deal with the intellectuals. Efforts must be continuously made to eliminate this influence.

2. "Leftist" mistakes cannot simply be imputed to any one person. Most of our older comrades took part in formulating and implementing "leftist" policies to a different degree. I myself have committed quite a few mistakes, both in the 1930's and in the period after the PRC was founded. I always take a critical attitude toward my mistakes. Mistakes are unavoidable if one is making revolution. What we need is not to repent but to earnestly sum up experience and draw lessons.

3. Times are changing and it is impossible to stop these changes. The historical trend is irresistible. When dealing with the thinking and the work of the intellectuals, we can only give them guidance and really help them in a patient and careful manner to suit themselves to the party's basic principles and the needs of socialist development. We should treat with care those things that we frown upon and think whether other people are wrong or whether we are too conservative, for both are possible. On the one hand, we should overcome "leftist" ideology but oppose the tendency of liberalization. It is good if we often think it over and always warn ourselves.

It was the time for us to say goodbye. Zhou Yang excitedly said: "So many intellectuals are attending the 12th CPC National Congress. This represents a new atmosphere. The expansion of the ranks of intellectuals and their higher social status is one of the symbols that our nation is prospering. I am very glad to see this. This indicates that the cause of our party is full of promise."

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'GUANGMING RIBAO' CARRIES SPEECH ON ART CRITICISM

HK081040 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 29 Aug 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by He Jingzhi [6320 2417 0037]: "Be a Firm, Clearheaded and Competent Marxist Literary and Art Critic"--excerpts from a speech delivered at a forum on the work of literary and art criticism held by the CPC Central Committee Propaganda Department on 24 July 1982]

[Text] Summary: This article maintains that to be a firm, clearheaded and competent Marxist literary and art critic, we should hold high the banner of communist ideology and never vacillate in our principles and orientation, even if shortcomings and mistakes have occurred on our road of advance. Ideological struggle should be carried out in the literary and art circles. We are taking a lopsided view if we can only discover tendentious problems in one aspect, but fail to discover similar problems in other aspects. To be a competent literary and art critic, we should not only have a correct stand and firm determination, but should also have a solid basis of theories, philosophy and life. Literary and art circles should have a good Marxist work style and carry forward the party's three important work styles, the work style of criticism and self-criticism in particular.

[Words illegible] become firm, clearheaded and competent Marxists. This is a demand set on all revolutionaries, Communist Party members in particular. Comrades who are engaged in revolutionary literary and art work should also strive for this goal. In particular, this should be the objective of the struggle for literary and art critics. Most comrades present are literary and art critics and the organizers of literary and art work. When this meeting comes to an end, I believe that it will be a matter of great significance to conscientiously think about Comrade Yaobang's demand in light of our actual work.

Not all people in our ranks of writers and artists are Marxists. Nor should we not put forth such an unrealistic demand. As far as a literary and art worker is concerned, as long as he politically supports the party

and socialism, we should unite with and help him and march forward with him hand-in-hand although his world outlook does not yet or completely belong to Marxism. In the literary and art circles, there still exists the problem of sticking to the socialist road and the struggle between proletarian and other nonproletarian ideology. Most comrades working in the literary and art circles--an important front army of intellectuals' corps--are, as the central authorities appraise, parts of the working class and laboring people. They have no problem in changing their stand, that is, a change in their political stand. However, with regard to philosophic ideology and world outlook as well as ideology, we still have a lot of work to do. While doing the work to promote unity, we should also carry out propaganda, criticism and education work. In addition, even those comrades who support the party leadership, persist in taking the socialist road and believe in Marxism cannot claim to have perfectly mastered Marxism. We should fight all our lives in order to become genuine Marxists. Therefore, we should always be modest, set strict demands on ourselves and unceasingly study and make progress. Only thus can we gradually master Marxism, keep a clear head under complicated circumstances, study theories in a thorough and persevering way and truly accomplish something significant.

We have scored successes in our literary and art critique work and the corps of our literary and art critics are good. Most comrades have a fairly good understanding of Marxist theories and are able to consciously use these theories to guide their work. However, the problem we talk of today is still an important matter of practical significance. It is not easy to be a "firm, clearheaded and competent Marxist." Some people often say that they support Marxism. However, to truly master and apply Marxism takes more than one day's work. Some older comrades joined the revolution a long time ago and are engaged in the work of spreading Marxism. They did a great deal of beneficial work in the past. During or before the period of the "gang of four," they were unfairly treated and some of them even nearly lost their lives. After the smashing of the "gang of four," they have straightened their shoulders and are respected by the people. They have also brought their role into play. Can we say that what they have done in recent years is all in accord with Marxism? I believe that the answer is no. Under new and complicated circumstances, some of our comrades are not so firm and clearheaded. Of course, it is not appropriate to say that they have "accomplished something significant." We should on no account think that we are always correct. Therefore, even for veteran comrades, to be a firm, clearheaded and competent Marxist is a practical problem.

The so-called "firmness" contains two meanings. The first meaning is that we should take a clear-cut stand at all times. During the 10 chaotic years, Marxism was severely distorted and sabotaged by the "leftist" ideas and counterrevolutionaries. In recent years, under the conditions in which we advocate the emancipation of minds, the implementation of the open-door policy toward a foreign country and the practice of enlivening the domestic economy, another ideological trend occurred. Some people cast doubt upon or negate our stand and road. Under such circumstances, most people are firm. However, some people are not always firm. A small number

of comrades express the views that we should no longer follow communism or stress discipline. Once we talk about these problems, we will be accused of pursuing the "leftist" line. What logic is this? In recent years, some comrades no longer want to talk about "-ism." They do not want to say anything about Marxism and socialism. They think that Marxism and socialism are the same old stuff. We should pay attention to this problem. When we are abandoning the ossified, dogmatic and distorted explanation of Marxism and eliminating the "leftist" influence, we should be completely confident of our stand and orientation and should on no account vacillate from them. The second meaning of "firmness" is that when shortcomings and mistakes occur in the process of bringing order out of chaos, we should firmly believe that the Marxist line, guiding principles and policies adopted by the CPC Central Committee since the third plenary session are correct. We should firmly believe that our achievements outweigh anything else and thereby affirm them. We should also firmly believe that Marxism is developing and socialism is bound to triumph. If Marxism does not develop and progress, it is no longer Marxism. Of course, we should correct shortcomings and mistakes occurring on our road of advance. It is wrong for us not to do so. However, when we are correcting our shortcomings and mistakes, we should not fear that the heavens will fall. Under such circumstances, we also need a firm Marxist discipline. Some shortcomings and mistakes are unavoidable. We should not cast doubt upon or negate the line and guiding principles of the third plenary session because of these shortcomings and mistakes. Once we encounter new problems, we should not turn the clock back and return to the old ways of dogmatism, ossification of minds and the "leftist" ideology. Not long ago, the CPC Central Committee stressed that the principled attitudes toward Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought should be: first, stick to them; second, develop them. To accomplish these two tasks, we should be firm in our resolution. Only thus can we be completely and truly firm Marxists.

Apart from being firm, we should also be clearheaded. Reviewing the overall situation and historical trends of thought, we realize that it is not easy to keep sober heads. Because great victories and severe setbacks occurred in the history of our state and party, people could easily become muddleheaded. This is what we call "getting dizzy with success" or "being scared out of one's wits because of failure." We have drawn experience and lessons in this respect. Therefore, we should rightly stick to the Marxist dialectics, avoid one-sidedness and other individual and subjective factors and keep a clear head. It is not easy for us to do so. With regard to the problem of assessing our achievements, very often some comrades do not hold identical views. This is connected with their subjectivism in minds, lopsided methods and muddled views. Some people only like to recall the happy occasions when they "passed five barriers and decapitated six enemy generals," but are reluctant to talk about their "setbacks and failure." Some other people assume a posture of being always correct to criticize the situation which occurred since the third plenary session and brag about their correct views. This also is evidence that they are not clearheaded. We have scored marked successes over the past few years due to the leadership of the CPC Central Committee. Some people fail to ascertain this main trend. This also reflects their

muddleheadedness. Apart from that, have we ideologically made a clean break with the bourgeois ideology? Do we correctly understand the great Marxist campaign of the emancipation of minds? Is there any "emancipation of the minds" which is "straying far from the subject," correct path and objectives? Sometimes, do we not fail to keep a clear head with regard to the above-mentioned problems? This is something which calls for deep thought.

With regard to the ideological struggle between the two lines, the central authorities discussed this matter a long time ago and have continuously stressed its significance. However, some of our comrades have only a one-track mind. They can only discover or stress tendentious problems of one aspect, but fail or are unwilling to talk about tendentious problems of other aspects. Some comrades do not want to admit the existence of the "leftist" ideology, whereas some other comrades negate by hook or by crook the occurrence and harm of bourgeois liberalization. All this is not in accord with practical reality. The "leftist" ideology has been deeply rooted in literary and art work. However, we should on no account underestimate bourgeois liberalization. Taking the present situation into consideration, we will also commit serious mistakes if we underestimate this matter. If we use the adjective "deeply rooted" to describe the pernicious "leftist" influence, we can probably use the phrase "having a long history" to depict the influence of bourgeois ideology. We should realize its historical roots and international conditions. Communism cannot be realized overnight. It is our important task to eliminate the remnants of feudal ideology. However, we should not underestimate bourgeois ideology. We should constantly and soberly perceive these two tendencies and consciously carry out necessary and effective struggle. We should have a dialectical materialist point of view and avoid subjective lopsidedness. We still hold fairly serious lopsided views on the relations between literary and art and politics. The CPC Central Committee uses the slogan "literature and art should serve the people and socialism" to replace the former slogan "literature and art should serve politics." However, some comrades do not accept this. Comrade Qiaomu talked about this problem at the tea party held on the last day of the National Committee meeting of the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles. He dwelt on this subject very successfully. The basic spirit of his speech has been accepted by most literary and art workers. Do all people accept it? The answer is probably no. Even among those who accept the view, there is one thing which we should pay attention to, that is, we should not use one tendency to conceal another. It is a gross misunderstanding if some people interpret the spirit of Comrade Qiaomu's speech as that literature and art can be separated from proletarian politics. Although we no longer say that literature and art are subordinate to politics, we do not accept the view that literature and art can be separated from politics. In an official speech delivered in early 1980 on behalf of the central authorities, Comrade Xiaoping mentioned this subject. Comrade Qiaomu and other comrades of the central authorities also hold the same view. In his speech, Comrade Qiaomu particularly stressed that the main topics of our literature should support socialism and the people's interests and should voice very strong political themes. Naturally, neither Marxist literary and art criticism nor Marxist

aesthetics can be separated from politics. We resolutely oppose vulgar sociology and attach importance to artistic law. However, we never advocate the so-called "pure aesthetics," which is completely cut off from social life and ideology, and even less do we believe that there is the so-called "Marxist aesthetics" which has nothing at all to do with politics. With regard to the problem of the party's leadership over literature and art, while stressing artistic law and opposing the practice of doing things in an oversimplified and crude way, we should pay attention to another lopsided and erroneous interpretation. It is wrong to narrowly regard literature, a vast and remarkable social phenomenon with its own peculiarities, merely as a gear wheel and screw working for the party. This is an important theoretical basis of the "leftist" ideology in literature and art which has been spreading for many years. It is now time to correct it. However, we never think that the party should not and cannot exercise leadership over literary and art work. We believe that party member literary and art workers should, first of all, treat themselves as party members before they regard themselves as literary and art workers. At present, some party member literary and art workers agree in words that literature and art are the "screw" of the party, but they flagrantly violate party discipline in their deeds and are completely devoid of a sense of responsibility to the party. The party is confronted with a problem of strengthening and improving its leadership over various aspects of literary and art work. This is also the case with its leadership over the work of literary and art criticism. We should pay attention to the fact that nobody is allowed to revive the "leftist" staff under the pretext of strengthening party leadership. At the same time, we should pay attention to the act of weakening or negating party leadership in the name of improving party leadership. The party should exercise leadership over the work of literary and art criticism, because it is an important aspect of the party's leadership over all literary and art work. It is right for us to look at problems in such a way and show such judgment. Some comrades worry about the possibility of dampening people's enthusiasm for letting a hundred schools of thought contend and adversely affecting the implementation of the double-hundred policy. No, we should not look at problems in this way. The party committee's leadership over the work of literary and art criticism means, first of all, its leadership over the guiding principles and policy of literature and art. Instead of hampering the implementation of the double-hundred policy, the party leadership will correct those mistakes which hinder the implementation of this policy. Apart from that, we should have the following understanding: The implementation of the double-hundred policy does not mean that the guidance of Marxism is dispensable. The purpose in implementing the double-hundred policy is precisely to develop Marxism and promote the prosperity of socialist literature and art. With such understanding, it is easier for us to establish an identical view: While resolutely implementing the double-hundred policy, the party leaders should organize and expand the Marxist contingent of literary and art criticism. While letting a hundred schools of thought contend and encouraging people to freely express their views, we should publish in a planned way some convincing commentary articles to discuss important theoretical principles and policies. When we criticized "Unrequited Love" last year, the central authorities expeditiously issued a

series of instructions to exercise direct leadership and solve this problem. Correct principles and proper methods were followed in the drive on criticism. Hence it was successful criticism which attained a fairly high Marxist level. In a word, we may come to the following conclusion: We should become clearheaded Marxists and avoid subjective lopsidedness. In particular, we should avoid being carried away by personal feelings and interests while observing and analyzing problems. Otherwise, we will not be able to keep a clear head.

Very often we are infuriated by the other party in a debate. Under such circumstances, we are liable to commit mistakes. It is particularly important for critics to remain calm. In our country, most contradictions are contradictions within the ranks of the people. We should adopt the method of unity-criticism-unity and carry out ideological and political work to solve them. Our literary and art criticism is conducted under such pre-conditions. We should guard against the possibility of making mistakes when we are hot with rage. Sometimes, when writing articles, we attack someone for a particular fault without considering the whole. In so doing, we are liable to depart from our former position and starting point. If we fail to keep a clear head, the struggle will not be beneficial to enhancing our levels and strengthening our unity. Our literary and art criticism will even begin to contradict itself because of this. When we are carrying out struggle between the two lines, some people might criticize us, saying that we "try to mediate differences by sacrificing principle." As a result, we are under a pincer attack. Under such circumstances, we should also keep a cool head. To approach problems in an all-round way is different from eclecticism. Eclecticism means doing things in an equivocal way without distinguishing between right and wrong or drawing a distinction between truth and falsehood. People with eclectic views always drag in all sorts of irrelevant matters. We carry out conscientious analysis and draw a distinction between right and wrong. This has nothing in common with eclecticism.

We should also become competent Marxists. I believe that our literary and art circles and the contingent of literary and art critics are full of promise and can make magnificent achievements. To become competent Marxists, we should not only have a correct stand and resolute confidence, but also establish a solid basis, a solid theoretical and Marxist philosophic basis in particular. To train ourselves to be staunch, unwavering, clearheaded and sober Marxists who can truly accomplish something great, we should establish a solid Marxist theoretical basis (including a philosophic and aesthetic basis). This is a matter of primary importance. We should realize that the reason why some comrades committed mistakes in ideology and work was not because of their stand and impure motives, but mainly because they lacked a solid basis of the Marxist world outlook. In addition, we should have a solid basis in life. Those who are engaged in literary and art creativity and criticism and those who carry out leading work in the literary and art circles should understand social life. It will not do for them to rely on things in their study alone. They should get out of the study and become familiar with the society. The socialist cause belongs to the masses. Socialist literature and art also

belong to the masses. Socialist literary and art criticism is an activity of the masses. It is not a simple thing to carry out literary and art criticism, because it is an important matter closely connected with the healthy development of the proletarian literary and art movement, which has a long history. As workers of literary and art criticism, when we are writing articles and publishing magazines, we should take the needs of the masses into consideration.

We should also have a good Marxist work style. To acquire and adhere to a fine work style is also a solid basis which we require. We should like to mention two things here. The first thing is about the state of mind. Some of our comrades were unjustly treated in the past. But since their problems have now been solved, they should no longer have a lingering fear or be oversensitive or feel disheartened when they suffer slight setbacks. Such a state of mind is not in accord with the demands of the new era. The second thing is about carrying forward the party's three important styles of work, the practice of criticism and self-criticism in particular. At present, some comrades in literary and art circles are reluctant to pay heed to criticism. Instead of accepting criticism, they blindly attempt to redress other people's grievances. Some comrades also talk about the importance of carrying out criticism. But they only want to criticize others. When people criticize them, they turn like a wounded tiger on those who raise the criticism. Wenyi Bao made self-criticism with regard to the problem of "Unrequited Love." Its attitude was good and had, therefore, achieved effective results in this respect. This shows that self-criticism will not impair our prestige. We should acquire a good work style of constantly carrying out criticism and self-criticism. The task of the workers of literary and art criticism is to comment on literary and art works, which includes both praise and criticism. To criticize other people, we should, first of all, have the spirit of making self-criticism. If we are willing to practice sincere self-criticism and make self-criticisms in "commentator's articles," we will show that we have acquired the work style of firm, clearheaded and competent Marxists rather than being weak or losing face.

I firmly believe that the work of our literary and art creativity and criticism is full of promise. Our Marxist literary and art critics are being organized into a powerful contingent. We should intensify our efforts and make contributions to creating a new situation in the work of the socialist literary and art criticism of the new era.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ARTICLE URGES THEORY STUDY BY ART CRITICS

HK091050 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 1 Sep 82 p 5

[Article by Chen Yong [7115 8673]: "Literary and Art Critics Must Step Up Study of Basic Marxist Theories"--text of a speech delivered at a forum on the work of literary and art criticism sponsored by the CPC Central Committee Propaganda Department on 23 July 1982. A few alterations and additions were made at the time of publication.]

[Text] The vast majority of people believe that literary and art criticism has played an important role over the last few years and has been very successful. However, literary and art criticism remains a weak spot in the whole arena of literary and artistic endeavor. Presently, the party Central Committee is paying close attention to all theoretical work, and has raised the problem of the organization of the theorists, including the problems related to the organization of literary and art theorists. This is absolutely necessary and the work should be earnestly seized upon. The two most important conditions for good performance in literary and art theory and criticism are, one, the contingent of literary and art workers must be organized, because the attitude of an army of drifters and deserters fighting the battle alone is difficult to upgrade and make better use of. There is no advantage derived from literary and art criticism if there is no opportunity to exchange ideas and no room for theory. The other condition is to strengthen research on basic Marxist theory. Of course these are not the only important things, for example, equally valuable is increasing knowledge, upgrading the study of culture and art, and deeply penetrating life itself etc., but I will confine my discussion to the problems related to research on the basic Marxist theory.

The basic theory is fundamental to all literary and art critics. Our literary and art critics are primarily involved in stating their views on the real problems of literature and art, and they participate in current critiques of the arts. However, criticism is not independent of theory, and a general problem existing today among literary and art critics is precisely that their theoretical preparation is insufficient. In speaking of critics, a fundamental improvement would be to upgrade their basic theory. In recent years, of the problems facing us that require resolution, a majority of them are problems of basic theory, or directly related to basic theory. For example, humanism and the theory of human nature.

Today's views on these subjects are widely divergent, even to the point of being confusing, and who maintains the correct view and the incorrect view cannot be immediately resolved because basic Marxist theory has not been understood. Humanism and the theory of human nature are profound, highly advanced problems; lean a little to one side and it involves idealism, and lean a little to the other side and it becomes mechanical materialism. What finally is Marxism we as yet have not been able to resolve. If we do not start from the basic theory and do not emphasize research of basic theory, this question cannot be adequately resolved. As it stands now, we cannot resolve problems.

Looking back over history, it is easy to clearly understand the problem of our lack of theoretical preparation. The world of Chinese literature and art was virtually devoid of basic Marxist theory. The revolutionary movements in literature, beginning in 1928, gave expression to our insufficient theoretical preparation and exposed our lack of theoretical weapons. There are reasons for this, and not only in the area of literature and art theory. In a letter written to Sung Ke, Comrade Liu Shaoqi said that the level of theoretical knowledge among the Chinese communists was relatively poor. Not long after the founding of the Chinese Communist Party, party members were quickly thrust into the first national revolutionary war. War continued uninterruptedly and under such brutal conditions, many cadres did not have the time to pursue theoretical studies. In Russia, from 1883 onward, the workers liberated society and founded the first Russian revolution in 1905, giving them a total of 20 years in which to prepare theoretical knowledge, with the most important figures in this work being Lenin and Plekhanov. Initially it was Plekhanov, and later Lenin. Plekhanov and others who founded the Workers' Liberation Society all focused their attention on the propagation of Marxism, and were involved in this work for 20 years. The spread of Marxism was very successful. It was Plekhanov's day, his golden age. Lenin was very young at the time Plekhanov began the task of propagating Marxism. Lenin was also to come under his great influence, and of course, in the end, would surpass his teacher. Still, Plekhanov's achievements cannot be overlooked. He introduced many of Marx' basic writings to Russia, and some of these works he annotated himself. Our present translation of "Feuerbach" was annotated by him. Some of his important works like "Our Diverging Opinions," "On the Development of the Monist Historical Outlook," "An Unaddressed Letter," and so on, were all written during this time. The long years of Lenin's and Plekhanov's theoretical work became the leading ideology in the Russian revolution. Afterward, the stand of all Soviet theory was comparatively high, and this was related to the conditions of that tradition. Moreover we should not forget that Plekhanov and the tradition of Russian revolutionary democratic theory were closely related, as were the works of Belinsky, Chernyshevsky and Dubrovin, and thus there was a very rich tradition in theory. In this aspect China is slightly more deficient. We cannot but admit this fact and admit our weak spots. After losing our first national revolutionary war, we began literature and art movements. Those comrades who returned from Japan and who are identified with the later period of the creativity society, also spread the ideas of Marx in literature and art. We should recognize their contribution and the new ground

their work opened up, and we should not overlook their important roles as disseminators of new ideas. Although some of them made mistakes they still deserve their rightful place in history. Looking back, on the subject of theory, they were ill-prepared to the point that the mistakes they committed were mistakes of principle; the majority of their sources were secondary Japanese works and they almost never introduced the original works of Marx, Engels and Lenin to China. Later on, they themselves admitted to having come under the influence of "leftist" things in the Japanese Communist Party at that time, hence some leftist things were introduced to China. In fact, subsequent to this, Lu Xun had become aware of the importance of work in basic theory and introduced to China Plekhanov's works on art and literature, but not long after this, during the White terror under the rule of the Kuomintang reactionaries, and the incessant war, the whole leftwing battlefield had no opportunity to raise the level of their theoretical studies. It is clearly evident, then, that China is just as deficient in theoretical knowledge as Comrade Liu Shaoqi had suggested. The central party's and Chairman Mao's level of theory is very high, but the level of theoretical knowledge of many cadres, including those in literature and art, is not very high, and we should admit this fact. Seeing this fact, we can appreciate the importance of raising the level of theoretical knowledge among the workers in the literature and art field.

The level of our understanding of theory is not high, and I feel it is presently expressed, at the very least, in the following areas: First, we do not possess sufficient understanding of things influenced by bourgeois thinking, unrestrained freedoms, and other mistaken things, and our estimation of problems is sometimes insufficient to the point of being able to clearly analyze certain limits. In the past couple of years, this point was particularly evident in our theoretical work in literature and art. Presently, some people in society cannot clearly distinguish the limits of freedom and unrestrained freedom. They often think that unrestrained freedom is something socialism should pursue, and that we should give expression to freedom. The limits of individual liberation and individualism are also not clearly distinguished. Of course we do not oppose individual liberation, and feel, moreover, that only the socialist system can guarantee real liberation for the individual, but some young people cannot discern what kind of individual liberation the people need, nor do they understand what individual individualism is, and they cannot determine the limits of democratic socialism and bourgeois democracy, including petty bourgeois anarchy. Our socialist system is still not perfect, bureaucratism and the appearance of other unfavorable things in many places is quite serious, the development of things which oppress individualism and individuals has not been eradicated, and socialist democracy must strengthen its durability from the point of view of the system and from the working conditions, and we cannot allow anarchy to do the job for us. These questions will only be resolved completely when we allow the socialist system to advance toward perfection and by making an advance toward the improvement of work conditions, and nothing will be achieved by relying on unrestrained freedom, individualism, bourgeois democracy and petty bourgeois anarchy. Our literary and art work, literary and artistic creativity, and literature and art theory should clarify the confused thinking of young people in this

area. It should propagate Marxist ideology, propagate the kind of socialist democratic freedom suitable to the people's needs and oppose unrestrained bourgeois freedom, individualism and anarchy. We cannot deny that some literature works have corresponded exactly to the needs of some youths who are inclined to err in this direction, and these works, having reflected mistaken trends of thought, only serve to propagate more dramatically these errors of thought. Some literary and art critics actually provide an order and theoretical basis for these mistaken trends of thought in their literature and art criticism. Seen objectively, at the very least, it has the effect of intensifying the already mistaken views. This is one of the most obvious expressions of our level of theoretical knowledge being underdeveloped. Just as many comrades have suggested, in our literature and art criticisms, the fact is that we are only able to treat the symptoms, but not the disease. There are many aspects of literature and art for which we cannot use theory to illuminate them. In literary and art work we are often only able to analyze the work itself, and we cannot relate common themes and carry out analysis from a high plane of theoretical understanding. We do have some comprehensive studies, but few which really theorize their research topics. We must surmount this weak point and begin to upgrade our grasp of basic theory. Our study of basic theory must resolve the problems in two areas. One is universal Marxist theory and China's own Marxist theory, and second, universal literary and art theory and China's own literature and art theory. At the present time, we still do not know enough about the universal area in Marxist theory, our knowledge of literature and art theory is for the most part knowledge of the universal in literature and art, and it is not yet Sinicized literary and art theory. We are quite aware of the principles of literature and art, as there are only a few who will openly deny that art has its own special principles, but when now we talk about the principles of art, we mean the universal aspects of the principles of art and we do not yet mean the principles of art, which are related to China. In this area Lu Xun and Chairman Mao did much work to open up new roads, laid good foundations for study, and it is necessary for us to pursue these problems. How the universal aspects of the principles of art are applied to solve practical problems in China constitutes one of our major tasks. To achieve this we need to greatly increase our way of comprehending these matters, as it is not enough to only understand the universal aspects of the principles of art, for we must also understand Chinese principles of art, from the general to the specific. This problem must be dealt with from the view of comprehension and practical application.

In the past, the suggestion has been made that Marx and Engels thinking in literature and art does not constitute a system of thought in itself, and it has even been suggested that their ideas in this area are nothing more than a collection of a few odd writings. In the final analysis, how to really understand the concept of what constitutes a system is also a problem. Marx and Engels thought in literature and art is exactly the same as their thinking in other areas, that is, it is based on their world view and methodology. Dialectic materialism and historical materialism is like a red thread running through all of their ideas on literary and art problems, thus, all these ideas are consistent from beginning to end, and are integrated and harmonious throughout. Can the same be said for all the

views and systems of thought of every thinker in the capitalist world? The problem is only a problem, because the works were not written as one work, on its own, as if they had never put their thinking of dialectic materialism into a single work.

Marx and Engels certainly never exhausted all of the questions related to literature and art, and we are certainly not in the position to rely on their already formulated thoughts on the subject to easily solve all the world's problems with them. Just as we need to carry on their thinking, we also need to create from it and develop it. What constitutes our present problem is to what extent we have grasped their basic thinking on literature and art that we have inherited from them. The view that Marx and Engels only left us with a few odd writings on literature and art cannot be seriously considered.

There is also the suggestion that the ideas of Marx and Engels in literature and art which were propagated in the past all belong to the external principles of literature and art, and what is more important now, is a study of the internal principles of literature and art. This viewpoint is also worthy of discussion. We will put aside the question of whether Marx, in the past, directly pointed out that the grasp of art was different from the grasp of theory, and whether he expounded upon the problems of the imbalance between art and economics, and problems between the relationship of the author's point of view and realism, because these problems are particular, specialized problems in literature and art and cannot be considered only as a matter of external principles. What we want to say here is that Marx and Engels used a historical materialism viewpoint to study problems in literature and art, historical materialism being one of their great discoveries, and only after we acquire this point of view will we be able to scientifically and clearly recognize universal laws in the historical development of mankind. This point of view is suitable for application in every single aspect of social life. Literary and artistic thinking is actually the application of historical materialism in questions of literature and art.

Are the literary and art principles that were expounded by the application of the universal principles of historical materialism merely external principles? It is not man's conscious that determines man's social existence, but is man's social existence which determines man's conscious. Does this basic principle of historical materialism really touch upon the inherent development and internal principles of literature and art, or on the contrary, do the principles going from the external to the internal determine the direction, nature and face of literary and artistic development? One only needs to analyze more concretely the literary and art phenomenon of an era or a class to attain the correct answer. People must admit that when one disregards the universal principle of historical materialism, there is no way then to clearly explain any of the slightly more important phenomena in literature and art, and no way to produce a proper scientific explanation. If you must ask whether the universal laws expounded by historical materialism in relation to art and literature are

external principles or internal principles, one can only reply that they are the most profound and universal of external principles.

When we say that social existence determines social consciousness, including literature and art, this is to speak of it fundamentally, as determining the fundamental relationship between social existence and social consciousness does not deny other factors which might determine and influence the development of literature and art, and it does not deny the relative particular principles of literature and art. We must work out all of the other factors which determine and influence the development of literature and art and must see that in the area of literature and art, the universal principles expounded by historical materialism come into being vis-a-vis the unique principles of art. However, at the same time we cannot see that the operation of all kinds of factors not included in social existence must be restricted by social existence and the unique principles of literature and art must be restricted by the universal principles of historical materialism. The crux of the real problem is to integrate the universal principles of historical materialism and the particular principles of literature and art; the terminology of external principle and internal principle has blurred the central point of the issue. The wording is unsuitable and inaccurate.

We should integrate the work of our literary and art critics; it should not be only an organizational integration, but also one of thinking, and this integration of thinking can only be a proper integration if it is based on Marxism. If thinking is not integrated, then the critics will all be isolated from one another, each fighting their own private war, even to the point of fighting their own people. Our basic theoretical work should be long-term, continued and sustained, as people like us cannot take the place of those scholars in higher tertiary institutions involved in the research of the basic principles of literature and art, and we cannot take their place in writing "an introduction to literature"; we should not want to undertake the usual academic work in place of others, as those people have their own tasks, and we have ours. But no matter how we divide up the work, these basic problems still have to be researched, we must concentrate more on research according to the needs of present literary and art criticism, and we must combine more closely theory and application and science and the needs of the present struggle.

CSO: 4005/1303

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

NEW PLAYS, OPERAS, DRAMAS TO OPEN IN BEIJING

OW301334 Beijing XINHUA in English 1142 GMT 30 Aug 82

[Text] Beijing, 30 August (XINHUA)--More than 70 plays, operas and dance dramas, about half of them newly produced, will be presented in Beijing in September and October, the Ministry of Culture announced here today.

On 11 new plays, three deal with the life of young people today, according to the ministry.

They include: "These Troublesome Guys," portraying conflicts between young workers and their leaders in a decorative sculpture factory; "The Golden Key," about young peasants endeavoring transform their poverty-stricken home village into a prosperous one; and "A Story Behind a New Soft Drink," a comedy depicting young peoples attitudes towards unhealthy tendencies.

"General Peng Dehuai," an award-winning play presented by an army theater troupe, is also on the program.

Another play, "Spring Comes to the Hailan River," depicts the changes brought to the rural areas in the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture by the party's rural economic policies in recent years. It will be presented in Korean by a troupe from the prefecture in the northwest.

About 20 new works of Beijing Opera and other local operas with contemporary themes are slated, the ministry said.

One of them is "An Inside Story of Chaoyanggou Village," a Henan Province opera showing how a couple who settled down in the countryside upon high school graduation 20 years ago persuade people to accept the idea of family planning. Produced by the third troupe of Henan Opera Theater in Zhengzhou, the opera has drawn full houses through its 100 performances in the city since its debut in March, according to the ministry.

Nearly 20 troupes with over 30 items in their repertoires have been invited from Shanghai, Tianjin, and other parts of the country to perform in the capital, the ministry said. Included are six children's plays that were highly acclaimed at a national children's play festival held earlier this month, the ministry added.

CSO: 4000/184

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

INITIAL SUCCESS SAID ACHIEVED IN EDUCATION

OW290250 Beijing XINHUA in English 0234 GMT 29 Aug 82

[Text] Beijing, 29 August (XINHUA)--China has trained 600,000 students in higher education in the last 4 years, realizing the goal set by the Communist Party Central Committee, according to the Ministry of Education.

In August, 1977, Deng Xiaoping, vice-chairman of the CPC Central Committee said that education should achieve initial success within 5 years. This goal has now been achieved, the ministry sources said.

By the end of 1981, the number of institutions of higher learning operating in China reached 704 or 270 more than in the year of 1965. In 1981 higher education students reached 1.28 million, 606,000 more than 1965. This number includes both students in 4- or 5-year curriculums and those who had less than 4 years of study.

China now encourages diversified development of higher education, the ministry said, a concept which has been expanded to include any post-secondary education, in order to accommodate the country's economic and cultural needs.

Diversified higher education now includes the regular 4- or 5-year universities, 2-year colleges, radio, television and correspondence universities as well as night universities for adults.

Development is also evident in post-graduate education. For example, starting in 1978, China enrolled 42,000 post graduate students, about 10,000 per year on the average, a number which is expected to increase. In 1965, the number was only 1,500 per year on average.

In secondary education, attention has been paid to vocational training, as a way to acquaint students unable to enter universities with their future jobs.

Advancing agricultural production is the ultimate purpose of rural education. Agriculture schools and other vocational institutions are operated in rural areas, some utilizing work-study programs. A 1-year agriculture course has been added in a number of rural junior middle schools after the students regular 3-year-course of study.

"Without agricultural knowledge, graduates cannot adapt to their work in the countryside," said Zhang Chengxian, party secretary of the Ministry of Education. "The system of the rural secondary education needs to be reformed," he said.

A meeting held recently in Shandong Province focused on reforming educational structures of rural middle schools. Now specialists have been organized by the Ministry of Education to compile new textbooks for rural schools.

Education is considered one of the key points for training professional personnel. The proportion of education expense in the country's total operating budget has increased from 9.95 percent of the total in 1979 to 13.5 percent in 1981, and capital construction investment in education accounted for 3 percent of the capital construction investment total in 1981, a two percent increase over the 1979 figure.

China has set a goal of nationwide popularization of primary education in 1990, the Education Ministry said.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

PRC CELEBRATES FOUNDING OF KOREAN PREFECTURE

OW041302 Beijing XINHUA in English 1214 GMT 4 Sep 82

[Text] Yanji, 4 September (XINHUA)--A rally attended by 80,000 people was held here yesterday in the capital of the Korean autonomous prefecture of Yanbian, Kirin Province, northeast China, to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the founding of the autonomous prefecture.

Korean nationality, one of China's 55 minority nationalities, includes a population of 1,600,000 people in China. About 730,000 people of the Korean nationality live in Yanbian autonomous prefecture, the main region where the Koreans live, making up 41.1 per cent of the prefecture's total population. Cadres of Korean nationality at various levels of the prefecture account for 51.4 per cent of the total number of the cadres in the prefecture, according to the local government sources.

In the past 30 years, the autonomous prefecture has recorded considerable progress in developing its economy. The output value of agriculture in 1981 more than doubled while industry in 1981 recorded a 5.8 time increase comparing with 1952. Residents' standard of living has kept pace with the development of the production.

The standing committee of [words indistinct] congress and the state council recently sent a message of congratulations to the prefecture on the occasion.

A delegation from the nationalities committee of the national peoples congress and the state nationalities affairs commission headed by Vice-Minister Wen Zhengyi made a special trip here from Beijing to attend the rally and other celebrations.

At the conclusion of the rally, dances and sports performances were shown including Korean traditional sports games such as wrestling and springboard.

A special film week, theatrical performances, an exhibition and public lectures were also held at the prefecture for the celebrations.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BEIJING TO GIVE MORE BENEFITS FOR LATE MARRIAGE

OW071745 Beijing XINHUA in English 1213 GMT 7 Sep 82

[Text] Beijing, 7 September (XINHUA)--Additional benefits will be given to those young people in Beijing who marry late or have [a] child late. The measures are outlined in regulations recently passed by the Beijing municipal government and scheduled to go into effect on November first this year.

According to the new regulations, men who marry after the age of 25 and for women who marry after the age of 23, the newlyweds will enjoy a total of 22 days nuptial leave. Present leave is 15 days.

Every one-child family will receive a monthly five yuan subsidy until the child reaches the age of 14. The yearly total--60 yuan--is about equal to the average monthly pay of a worker. For women who bear a child after the age of 24, maternity leave will be extended from the usual 56 days to 71 days. They can, if they wish, request an extension of the leave to 6 months or 1 year, with full pay but with subsidies deducted.

Children from one-child families will enjoy a priority in entering kindergarten and receiving medical care, and education will also be subsidized. These families will be eligible for improved housing accommodations.

In the countryside, one child families will receive two shares of private plots and an extra four hundred work points (peasants receive cash rewards at the end of the year according to work points they have earned during the year), as an allowance for child care every year.

The regulations urge people with serious hereditary disease not to have children.

The regulations also outline conditions for couples to have the second child.

These special cases include: A couple having a child after they had already adopted one; cadres and workers from national minorities; and, in the countryside, when a man marries into his bride's family and she being the only child in the family. Apart from these exceptional cases, the regulation stated, families should not have more than two children each. The regulations also say that the government will reward those who contribute to the work of birth control and family planning.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

WOMEN IMPORTANT FORCE IN BUILDING UP XIZANG

OW071747 Beijing XINHUA in English 1219 GMT 7 Sep 82

[Text] Lhasa, 7 September (XINHUA)--There are more than 8,000 women cadres in the Tibet autonomous region, comprising 30.85 percent of the total number of cadres in Tibet.

This was revealed to XINHUA recently by Ngapoi Cedan Zhoigar, vice-president of the all-China women's federation and honorary president of Tibet's women's federation, at the 3d regional women's congress here. "Women have become an important force in building up new Tibet," she added.

Cedan Zhoigar said that under the system of serfdom before the democratic reform in Tibet in 1959, women were regarded as serfs and chattel with no personal freedom at all.

But, she continued, since the democratic reform, women's economic and political status in Tibet has been thoroughly transformed. Large numbers of women have been sent to study in various training courses from literacy classes to that of science and technology, some were sent to study at colleges and universities in the interior of the country.

She added that at present all leading groups at various levels in the autonomous region, such as the regional party committee, the people's government and the National People's Congress (N.P.C.) standing committee, include women cadres. Many of them were elected delegates to the National People's Congress or the national congress of the Communist Party.

She said Tibetan women are now playing an important role in agricultural and animal husbandry production. At the same time, with the development of industry, the first generation of women workers have grown up in Tibet, including many exemplary miners, technicians, engineers and drivers.

Now in Tibet, Cedan Zhoigar said, there are 399 women "red-banner pacesetters" and 65 women "red-banner collectives" for the whole region.

CSO: 4000/184

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

POSITIVE ATTITUDE ON STUDY OF CRIMES, PROBLEMS EMPHASIZED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 19 Jun 82 p 1

[Report by Hu Heng [5170 5683]: "Strive To Strengthen Our Study of the Question of Crimes by Youths and Children: All-China Academic Symposium on the Study of Crimes by Youths and Children Convened in Nanning"]

[Text] The All-China Academic Symposium on Crimes by Youths and Children was held from 11-17 June in Nanning Municipality in the Zhuang Nationality Autonomous District in Guangxi. The symposium stressed that the study of the question of crimes committed by youths and children is an important question in our youth and children work as well as a major issue in the realm of social science; it is of great significance to study the causes, evolution and tendency of development of the law-violating and criminal behavior of youths and children and to adopt appropriate measures to solve existing problems in the education of the entire younger generation, the maintenance of our stability and unity, and the promotion of the construction of the four modernizations.

The symposium held that the main stream of the present younger generation is good; their reflection is alert, the study diligent, their labor enthusiastic, their love for the motherland ardent, and they are all willing to dedicate their youth to the four modernizations. But the injuries they sustained during the 10-year turmoil were the greatest and deepest, and they are now again facing the historic turning point of returning to order from disorder, readjustment, and reforms; hence among them there have existed also this and that kind of problems, and a very small number among them have even violated the law and committed crimes. In analyzing these problems, we cannot depart from their particular historical conditions.

The symposium demanded that, in conducting the study of the crimes committed by youths and children, we need to forge a whole scientific system with the theory of Marxism united with reality, to establish our own criminology on youths and children, and to solve the direction and methodology of our study.

The delegates emphatically discussed the three questions of how to look at, what to do with, and how to proceed to treat in the future the question of crimes committed by youths and children. Those comrades who spoke up

maintained that we must examine youths and children from the particular conditions of history, we must guide youths to understand correctly the state of our country, we must insist on educating youths and children with the communist ideology and, in the case of those youths and children who have committed criminal offenses, stress education, rescue, and transformation, and we must, under the leadership of the party, mobilize various forces in society to do a good job in comprehensive handling in order to fundamentally prevent the rise and development of criminal behavior. The comrades issuing statements also held that, apart from studying from the standpoint of social causes, we must also do so as to the subjective causes of youths and children themselves in committing criminal offenses from the pedagogical, sociological, ethical, psychological, and biological angles.

Adviser to the CCP Central Propaganda Department Liao Jingdan [1675 0064 0030] gave a speech at the symposium. In the course of the symposium, the China Society on the Study of Crimes by Youths and Children was also established.

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CSO: 4005/1043

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HUBEI DEALS STERNLY WITH STUDENTS REFUSING STATE ASSIGNMENTS

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 19 Jun 82 p 1

[Report: "Sternly Dealing With Graduates Who Refuse To Abide by Assignments by the State: Hubei Disqualifies a Graduate Student and an Undergraduate From Receiving Assignments"]

[Text] XINHUA dispatch, 18 June, Wuhan: A graduate student at the Central China Engineering Institute and an undergraduate at the Wuhan Metallurgical and Medical College refused after their graduation last year to abide by the assignments the state granted them. In order to make discipline more strict and guarantee the smooth operation of job assignments for graduates, the Hubei provincial personnel bureau recently approved reports submitted by the two institutions which disqualified them from receiving any further assignments.

Before he was admitted, the graduate student in the specialty of solid dynamics at the Central China Engineering Institute was a staff member at the Rongjiang County Farm Machinery Research Institute in Guizhou; after he graduated last March, he was assigned to remain at the institute to work. His lover was working at Rongjiang, but he single-mindedly stressed his need to look after his father, younger brother and sister in Shanghai and requested an assignment there. The institute repeatedly assigned work to him, but he steadily refused and continued to decline the assignments given. Hence, the institute decided to disqualify this graduate student from receiving any further assignment upon his graduation and to return him to his original unit.

A 1981 graduate of the Wuhan Metallurgical and Medical College lived in Wuhan; after his graduation in August last year, he was assigned to work at the Anshan Steel Company. Under interference by his family, this student too refused to take up the assignment by the state. The college decided to disqualify him from receiving any further assignment and, according to relevant regulations of the state, notify the concerned units of the locality of his family that within the next 5 years no unit under ownership of the whole people would be allowed to hire him as a formal staffer of the state.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SOLUTIONS SOUGHT FOR INTELLECTUALS' PRACTICAL PROBLEMS

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 18 Jun 82 p 1

[Report: "While Examining Working Conditions of Intellectuals, Party and State Responsible Persons of Various Provinces, Municipalities, and Autonomous Regions Point Out: Change Our Negative Attitude of Waiting for Conditions of Everything, Actively Solve Practical Problems for the Intellectuals"]

[Text] This reporter has learned from relevant central departments: while listening to briefings on the examination of the working conditions of intellectuals made by relevant local departments recently, the responsible persons of various provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions demanded that problems found in the work of the intellectuals be conscientiously solved.

The Standing Committee of the CCP Fujian Provincial Committee listened to briefings on the examination of the working conditions of intellectuals in mid-May; the first secretary of the provincial party committee Xiang Nan [7309 0589] expressed his views over the questions broached at the session and demanded that party committees at various levels continue to do a good job in examining the working conditions of intellectuals; he also demanded that the various concerned departments grasp their time closely and, with regard to problems touching on wage and welfare, medical and health care, housing, car use, assigning of assistants to experts, and the like, proceed further to investigate their backgrounds, come up with concrete programs for their solution, and submit such programs to the standing committee of the provincial party committee for discussion. Xiang Nan also suggested to the organizational departments that they should select a contingent of fine middle-aged and young technical core cadres to enter the leading groups of divisions and bureaus. Prior to this briefing session, the secretary of the Fujian Provincial Party Committee and chief of the intellectuals' working conditions examination group of the provincial government, Cheng Xu [4453 1645], personally visited part of Fuzhou Municipality's high- and medium-ranking intellectuals in order to solicit their views on behalf of the provincial party committee about policy implementation, their work and living conditions and the like, and also exchanged views with them over how to foster talents in the professional and technical ranks, how to absorb intellectuals into the party and improve their working conditions, how to solve difficulties in their life, and such problems.

The secretary of the CCP Shaanxi Party Committee Zhang Fanghai [1728 2455 3189] has convened a briefing session on the examination of the working conditions of intellectuals by the various systems directly under the jurisdiction of the province. At the session he said that the key point in implementing the policy on intellectuals is trusting and employing them. Shaanxi has a contingent of more than 200,000 professional and technical cadres and more than 300 scientific and research units; this is a great asset. But in the past we have not given sufficient scope to this asset; we should take the examination this time as an important turning point in the promotion of our work on the intellectuals and grasp it closely and handle it well.

The secretary of the CCP Shanxi Provincial Committee Ruan Bosheng [7086 3124 3932] has sought out comrades in the temporary office for the examination of the working conditions of intellectuals under the organization department of the provincial party committee to listen to their reports on the situation of their work on letters from, and visits by, intellectuals and also to carry out special studies with them. Ruan Bosheng said that we must take the handling of letters from, and visits by, intellectuals as an important task, handle it conscientiously; it would not be appropriate just to let the letters lie there. He said that, with respect to the problems broached in those letters, we must follow the provisions of current policies to see which one needs to be solved and, after study, transmit them in time to various places for proper solution; when demands for the solution of certain problems advanced in these letters do not tally with current policies, we should reason clearly with them in order to do a good job in persuading them.

The secretary of the CCP Gansu Provincial Committee Liu Bing [0491 0393] said at the briefing session on the examination of the working conditions of intellectuals by units under the direct jurisdiction of the province that we must conduct ourselves truly as the bosom and understanding friends of the intellectuals, become their confidants, think about what they think and be eager to meet their needs; in respect to the solution of their practical problems, we must have a sense of urgency and a sense of responsibility; we must energetically overcome and earnestly change our negative attitude and passive approach of the past in waiting for conditions on everything, waiting for the neighbors on the left and on the right to do something first, and waiting for uniform regulations.

Beijing, Shanghai, Shandong and Xinjiang have also convened at various points briefing sessions on work or forums on intellectuals; day-to-day Secretary of the CCP Beijing Municipal Committee Chen Xitong [7115 1585 0681], Deputy Secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee Yang Shift [2799 1102 3127], Secretary of the Shandong Party Committee Gao Qiyun [7559 0796 0061], First Secretary of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Regional Party Committee Wang Enmou [3769 1869 5399], and Secretary Li Jiayu [2621 0857 3768], participated in these sessions to listen to various views and gave speeches there.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

GUANGDONG BUILDS MAUSOLEUM--The Guangdong Provincial Nationalities Committee recently decided to appropriate a special fund of 50,000 yuan to Hainan Li-Miao Autonomous Prefecture to build a tomb for (Wang Guoxing), an outstanding representative of the people of the Li nationality. After liberation, (Wang Guoxing) was infinitely loyal to the cause of the revolution and construction of the party. During the 10-year turmoil, he was cruelly persecuted by Lin Biao, the gang of four and their companies. Consequently, he died without being cleared of a false charge. After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the Hainan Li-Miao Autonomous Prefectural CPC Committee reversed verdicts on (Wang Guoxing) and the CPC Central Committee appropriated a special fund to build a house on some 200 square meters in (Wang's) hometown for his dependents. At present, the autonomous prefectural finance bureau has sent this special fund to Qiongzhong County, which has made arrangements for the use of the fund. [Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 23 Aug 82 HK]

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## CONFESION OF MEMBER OF PRIVILEGED STRATUM RECOUNTED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 7, 1982 pp 30-32

[Article by Li Fu [2621 1133]: "I Am a Member of the Privileged Stratum"]

[Text] The train was running in the direction of Shanghai. I was lying in one of the passenger cars with soft seats, and opposite me sat an old cadre in his green army uniform; his hair had already turned grey, but his face was ruddy. He was wearing a pair of presbyopic glasses, busying himself in leafing through books and newspapers without stopping, altogether unlike an "uncouth Eighth Route Armyman" but, rather, like a student thirsting for unlimited knowledge. The long, dull journey made us friends in conversation. Little did I expect that this soldier by the name of Yang would show no wariness toward a Hong Kong man like myself; he was totally open and frank and refrained from nothing in our talk. To all the questions I asked, he came up with straight replies. Our conversation touched upon such questions as China's privileged stratum, democratic movement, Poland's trade union Solidarity, etc. It was most interesting. Here I would like to provide the contents of our conversation to the reader friends of CHENG MING.

Yang (casting a glance at my long hair and outfit): Aren't you from Hong Kong?

Li: Yes

Yang: People in Hong Kong call the mainland the countryside, and the mainlanders "mainland piglets." (He laughed affably.)

Li: Compared to Hong Kong, China's cities do look like countryside.

Yang: Hong Kong is so modern and the things there are so cheap that many cadres are trying to find some way or come up with some excuse to pay it a visit in order to wander into a night club or buy some foreign goods. It's very interesting.

Li: Hong Kong is delightful, but it also has many problems; the most serious is the problem of housing. Some say Hong Kong is like a "pigeon house," while others say it is a "beehive"!

Yang: Hong Kong has Hong Kong's troubles, and the mainland has the mainland's troubles.

Li: Old comrade, you must have been working in the army for a long time.

Yang: More than 40 years. At the time of the "9 December [1935] Movement," I was a middle school student and I went to join the guerrillas; I have remained with them ever since. Now, I am just 60, almost ready to retire.

Are You Willing To Retire?

Li: Are you willing to retire?

Yang: Some say, there is no retirement for someone engaged in revolution. I don't look at it this way. There may be no end to our struggle for the communist cause, but a man is bound to get old and he must voluntarily retreat from the stage of history. Why should one who already begins to drool involuntarily continue to monopolize the shrine, and for what? That is called "occupying the toilet without making one's bowel movement" -- no good at all! Hence, Deng Xiaoping says: It is the urgent wish of the masses that old cadres retire. Those who are not willing to retire are not really for the communist cause, but are afraid of losing their "privileges." Actually, even if we are retired, we continue to draw our salaries and every year we even get 2 extra months' salaries for traveling, and we also continue to review documents: our "privileges" are still there! If it is said that this is applying the "policy of buying off" to us old cadres, ha ha, that would make us bourgeois who need to be "bought off." (He spoke humorously, and couldn't help laughing again.)

Li: This being the case, you too seem to think that there are some people in China who are enjoying "privileges"; can we say that a "privileged stratum" does exist?

Yang: Of course, this is a fact. By closing our eyes we may not see a fact, and by engaging in sophistry we may distort a fact; but a fact, after all, remains a fact. When I talked about my desire to retire, my wife, children, and relatives mostly disagreed with me; did they wish to have me engage in revolution? Only a fool could have failed to see that they were only afraid that after I lose my "power" they too will lose their "privileges." (Laughter.)

Li: Hong Kong men are very much interested in the question of the "privileged stratum"; it is frequently discussed in the press. But the Chinese communists have never acknowledged that there is any "privileged stratum" in China.

I Enjoy Many 'Privileges'

Yang: Even if the party says so, the common people by no means look at it this way. I am a member of the very "privileged stratum."

Li: (surprised by the other man's frankness): Is that so?

Yang: Why not? Our clothing, food, housing, and transportation facilities are all different from those of the common people and cadres in general. What we wear is high-class material; what we eat is "individualized cooking"; correspondents are sent to our homes and we regularly relish feasts; the place we live in normally measures more than 100 square meters; while the furnishings in our home lack the kind of 10,000-yuan bathtub mentioned in Ye Wenfu's [5509 2429

4395] poem, they do include sofas, chests of drawers, beds, telephone, etc., which are all provided by the state. When I go out, I always stay in high-class hotels; there are always special passenger cars to take us in and out; we are allowed to take a plane, and when we ride on a train we are entitled to occupy the section with soft seats; when we need to have our illness attended to we have a health insurance certificate, and well-known physicians take care of us, good medicine and good equipment are used, and every year we are given a physical checkup. We are entitled to read confidential, top-secret documents; at meetings we are seated at the presiding officer's platform; when we are in the theater watching a drama we are seated at the front rows and at the rear rows if watching a movie... Those above the division and bureau chief level in the central organs, above the department and bureau level in the provincial organs, and above the division commander level in the armed forces all enjoy such privileges; county party committee secretaries and county governors as well as the various department heads also enjoy their respective privileges; all of these may perhaps be called a "privileged stratum."

Li: Some explain that this is required by their work and should not be regarded as a matter of "privilege."

Yang: The greatest deception lies precisely here. The so-called requirement of work or so-called serving the people sounds of course highfalutin; but, to put it bluntly, actually it is often a case of thieves and whores on the loose. An 80-year oldster taking a nurse as a concubine -- is this required by his work? No wonder he is not willing to retire, because once retired he would no longer enjoy such a "privilege." When I went to Jiangxi to work, they took me on a tour of Lushan, with one big feast every 3 days and a small one every 2 days; can you say this is required by my work? In treating me with such enthusiasm, they actually also wished to "scrouge" a little so that each would share the spoils of the other, with no one complaining about anyone else. In any case, the money spent belongs to the state, the comfort enjoyed is ours; why shouldn't anyone do it? (With a shrug, he continued:)

#### Making Friends Also Requires Attention to Well-Matched Status

In this "privileged stratum" of ours, even making friends is based on well-matched status, with only those of the same level mixing with one another; a division commander would never seek out a little soldier as a friend. Our children are like this too; they can make friends with each other if their fathers belong to the same level; otherwise, they would say; "Your father is subordinate to mine." Our tone in addressing our subordinates is also different; it is a preaching tone, a tone with which a senior instructs a junior. A common cadre usually calls us chief so-and-so or director so-and-so...even though the central authorities have repeatedly ordered that we must greet each other as comrade. Can you say that all this is required by our work? (While speaking, he suddenly stood up.)

Li: One is unaware when engrossed in a given situation but attentive when outside of it as an observer. In your case, you have turned out to be even more attentive while engrossed in it; this is truly incredible!

### Actual Wages Cannot Be Estimated

Yang: Because of his background as a member of the feudal class, Lu Xun understood them better, and once he thrust his spear backward, he hit them right at their vulnerable spot. Marxism holds that the difference in classes lies in the difference of people's status in labor and production and the difference in the distribution of the fruits of labor that they receive. Basically, people like us are used to pointing our fingers or swinging our feet or moving our lips. That is to say, in labor and production our status is different from that of the vast ranks of the workers and laborers; but in distribution our wages are several or even 10 times higher than those of the workers. These are nominal wages only; in reality the other remunerations we enjoy are still higher than our wages; they are inestimable. For instance, no one knows how much of the state's foreign exchange some who go abroad actually spend on the photographs and books they bring back; and they could well have obtained these things without going abroad. Then, what did they go abroad for? They went abroad simply for sightseeing, widening their horizons, and buying some foreign goods, since the money they spent came from the state treasury anyway.

Li: Today's retirement system is also a measure to repeal the lifetime tenure system; does it also limit cadres' privileges?

Yang: An emperor cannot remain such for his whole life. Certain people's privileges are reduced, but the ranks sharing such privileges are expanded; thus the privileged stratum is not contracted but extended.

Li: This view of yours is very refreshing. I would like to ask you to discuss whether "privileges" can corrode people.

### Mao in His Late Years Was the Greatest Capitalist-roader

Yang: Those who enjoy "privileges" naturally wish to preserve forever such a political and economic status; whenever such a status faces infringement, they are bound to do their best to oppose it. All reforms and changes are likely to encounter their opposition. Once they feel duly satisfied with their own power and position, what they pursue is then greater privileges. Such people have in essence already changed, from revolutionaries gradually to the opposites of revolution. "Ideological petrification" under such circumstances becomes a matter of course. According to the Land Reform Program of the past, when a peasant possessed a large amount of land for 5 years, his class status would change into that of a landowner. We have possessed these "privileges" for over 30 years; why should it be impossible for us to become "privileged elements"? Can it be that we are gods free of the consequences of human consumption? In the case of the oldster Mao himself, hadn't he in essence already changed? Otherwise, how could he have treated his old comrades-in-arms this way? how could he have been so careless in his lifestyle? Hence, the oldster Mao said: "The bourgeoisie is within our very own party"; this was said indeed correctly, but with one proviso: "I myself have been the greatest capitalist-roader."

Li: In discussing such things with a Hong Kong man whom you have never met before, aren't you afraid of incurring problems?

Yang: I am not so afraid; I am just about to retire. Having engaged in the revolution for a lifetime, can they put me in jail now?

Such Party Members Are Incomparable to Li Jiacheng

Li: Can I say that you have said these things because you are about to retire?

Yang: Perhaps so. But this perception has actually been taking shape for a long time. At the time of the "Cultural Revolution," the Red Guards said we were "capitalist-roaders"; they wanted to put tall hats on us and parade us in the streets; they wanted to "throw us on the ground and trample us 10,000 times." It was then that I thought to myself: having devoted myself to the revolution for a lifetime, why should the common people hate us so today? Can this not be a protest to our enjoyment of "privileges"? The conclusion I reached was: "We should bow down and admit our guilt." After the downfall of the "Gang of Four," we were all vindicated and our offices reinstalled, or we gained even higher offices; even in the case of many who had in the past "bowed down" to admit their own guilt, they too regarded themselves as having been wronged, as if they themselves had in fact been "always correct." An old horse always recognizes its track; thus such people once again embarked upon the old road, or did things even more unscrupulously. Chen [7115] the Pockmarked Face having demolished a kindergarten to build his private house was an iron-clad fact; I am afraid even a capitalist today would not have done such a stupid thing. Have they not returned to their native villages to build schools? Has not Li Jiacheng [2621 0857 6134] donated several tens of million yuan to build the Swatow University? Such communists can't be compared even to a capitalist; it would be getting them off too lightly to just attach the label of "capitalist-roader" to them. It would be only proper to call them "feudal bureaucrats."

Li: Some are of the opinion that the cadres today are even more fierce in seeking "privileges" than those prior to the "Cultural Revolution," so that when worse comes to worse, a second rebel movement similar to the "Cultural Revolution" might become inevitable; do you think this view is correct.

Yang: I think this view has a definite basis. One view is that the "capitalist-roaders" indulged in seeking privileges; the rebels exceeded the capitalist-roaders; and the old cadres whose offices have been reinstated are now exceeding even the rebels. The "privileges" of one "generation" thus become more and more pronounced than those of another "generation." The masses are very dissatisfied with this scene. Yet, after more than 10 years of turmoil, people are longing for stability; but the sources of turmoil still exist. Those in power cannot but consciously take note of this. In my view, the many measures now adopted by Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang are meant verily to limit the swelling of these "privileges." But, in repealing "the four avenues of unlimited airing of views" and suppressing the democratic movement, they have hampered the opposition to "privileges." Because those who seek privileges fear most other people's exposure, "the four avenues of unlimited airing of views," and the masses' making their views known.

Li: Are you saying that letting the masses make their views known and engage in the democratic movement is the most potent weapon for opposing "privileges"?

Yang: That question is something which I have not yet had time to think through. But I am of the opinion that it simply won't do if a cadre system like that of Stalin, which accommodates stern gradations and smacks of a heavy feudal odor, is not pulled down. Once the cadres' "privileges" are removed, with democracy being put into practice in addition, and with the masses electing and recalling the cadres as well as supervising them, it would be difficult for them to seek privileges. Another approach is to have material goods in society greatly multiplied. Once the distance between officials and the common people is shortened and the "privileges" enjoyed by the high-ranking cadres today can also be enjoyed by the masses, then such privileges would no longer constitute privileges.

#### Carry Opposition to Privileges Into the Next Generation

Our generation has fought guerrilla wars and endured hardship; its tendency to seek privileges would not be too excessive. Our next generation might be more fearsome. Taking advantage of their senior generation's power and office, they have become totally lawless and unscrupulous, smuggling gold, monopolizing the importation of petroleum, coal and other materials of the like, raping women, murdering people and using drugs, and what not. The grandson of X X X and the sons of X X X and X X have all been arrested. The central authorities have a document which provides: whatever case [in which the son is involved], the father is not allowed to come forward to intervene, nor to solicit information about it. After "1 May," the inhibition on carrying out executions will be removed. Many are waiting to see: will you dare to touch the children of high-ranking cadres who are still in power? If they should suffer no consequences, then the party's prestige will be completely swept away. Opposition to privileges will not only prevent our own generation from becoming corrupt and degenerate, but will also have to do with our next generation and posterity. (As the general reached this point, his tone became full of pain.)

Li: How do you view the democratic movement in China?

Yang: When we first joined the revolution, we intended precisely to struggle for democracy and the people's happiness; when we joined the Communist Party, we also aimed at the fine future of mankind--the triumph of the communist cause. The essence of the Communist Party is itself opposition to dictatorship, especially opposition to feudal dictatorship. But, honestly, we have sometimes marched in the opposite direction and become the tools of great feudal dictators; we have acquired privileges and become privileged elements. This way, we are bound to fear the people and fear democracy. With so many problems bred by the oldster Mao, if there had been some democracy in practice at the time and had there been some small bulletins exposing them somewhat, would the people of the whole country have been deceived? Would he have been able to instigate the "Cultural Revolution"?

Li: How do you think a socialist state should practice democracy?

Yang: In my view there are two ways: one is to do like Yugoslavia does by consciously carrying out improvement and reforms and realizing socialist democracy; another is, if you do not handle the matter consciously and contradictions become

radicalized, then a Hungarian Incident, a Czechoslovak Incident, or a Polish trade union, such as the current Solidarity, results. Poland has a population of only 36 million; yet the trade union Solidarity has 10 million members, who thus constitute a formidable force. Many high-ranking officials, even the wife and son of the vice premier, are its members. But this organization seems too loose; it lacks a closely-knit core force. Hence its reaction to Poland's military control appears impotent. We still lack adequate understanding of the situation of the Polish workers' struggle; but we can predict that Walesa and his advisers will sum up their experience and continue to push forward.

Li: Would a view like yours be regarded as heresy in today's mainland? Would you be regarded as a "dissident"? Are there many like you?

Yang: Perhaps some would regard [my view] as improper. But it is no longer possible today to "command everything with Mao Zedong Thought"; whoever is not a petrified element is using his brains. In the case of us oldsters, our conventions are especially numerous and our burdens are especially heavy; when considering problems, our thinking is not liberal enough, unlike today's young people among whom some neither believe in gods nor fear ghosts. China's hope lies precisely in them. My view has never been publicly aired; no one can stop me from exercising my own thinking. As far as I know, people's thinking at present is very confused or it may be said to be also especially active. Among high-ranking cadres, people who view problems as I do are not, I believe, necessarily very scarce; the only difference is that when they speak publicly, they usually resort to high-sounding expressions.

With a loud whistle, the train rushed into the boundless darkness of the night. The old cadre's series of talks aroused my deep thoughts. Outside the window, the limitless benighted firmament seemed menacingly pressing downward. The night was pitchblack, but luckily some stars had begun to flicker. These were exactly like the sparks of thought of our motherland's elitist elements which enable us to see the hope of the country.

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END